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ABSTRACT

This three volume study presents the results of research which examined working conditions and their possible relationship to stress among faculty in six schools (two elementary, two middle, and two high schools) in two major U.S. cities. Information about the schools was obtained through ethnographic case studies. Data were synthesized to describe each school and to identify potential stressors, with emphasis on the identification and description of stressors related to the context or culture of the school and the system, i.e., the work environment. These data were then analyzed within a psychological anthropology framework. Specifically, drawing from previous studies, it was postulated that once basic human needs are met, individuals (in this case school personnel) seek security, status, and sociability in their culture, society, occupations, and personal lives. In addition, eight universal aspects of behavior were examined (value system, cosmology or world view, social organization, technology, economic system, governance, language, and socialization process). Comparisons of findings across schools resulted in five major categories of stressors: (1) security; (2) governance/leadership; (3) budget cuts; (4) staff relations; and (5) student issues. Student issues, however, were found to be stressors only in the two high schools. This report is organized as follows: Volume I includes an introduction to the study, a literature review, description and analysis of stressful conditions in the schools studied, conclusions regarding the findings' significance, and recommendations for policymakers and practitioners concerned with reducing stressful conditions in schools. Volume II includes the full case studies of each of the six schools, and a report on extensive interviews with the schools' principals. Volume III contains a detailed discussion of the research methodologies, as well as the instruments utilized for data collection. (GC)

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SCHOOLS AS A WORKPLACE: THE REALITIES OF STRESS

Volume I: Executive Summary
Volume II: School Site Case Studies & the Role of the Principal
Volume III: Methodology and Instrumentation

UD023337

SCHOOLS AS A WORKPLACE: THE REALITIES OF STRESS

VOLUME I

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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We would like to dedicate this report to the memory of Stephen K. Bailey, a champion of education and a scholar who never lost touch with the schools or people in them.

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We would like to acknowledge the very expert assistance of field researchers Mary Ellen James, Rebecca Waxman and Abraham Simon. The guidance and valuable input of Jerry Kaiser, the AFT Project Director, were greatly appreciated, as were the instructive comments and criticism by Robert Koff, who provided the initial inspiration for the project. Donald Cichon contributed to the analysis of data and raised useful research questions.

Special thanks go to personnel from the local unions in each site who assisted in securing entry into schools, as well as with collection of demographic data. The direction provided by the project advisory board members--Stephen Bailey, David Berliner, Patrick Daly, Kenneth Greenspan, Daniel Lortie, Ed Muir, Jerome Tepperman, Vincent Tinto and William Walley --helped the staff focus on appropriate areas of concern. David Berliner, Beatrice Ward, John Mergendoller, Jacqueline Vaughn and Ed Muir contributed insightful comments and suggestions for revisions in reviewing the draft report, which were used extensively in development of the final text. Marilyn Rauth, director of the AFT Educational Issues Department and Joe Vaughan, the NIE Project Officer, also provided valuable assistance in the editing of the final report.

Finally, to the faculty, administrators and staff members of the six schools studied, we offer our thanks and appreciation for opening their lives to our scrutiny.

A Note to Readers

The total report on the study "Schools as a Workplace: The Realities of Stress" comprises three volumes. Volume I includes an introduction to the reasons for and procedures used in the study, a brief literature review, a description and analysis of stressful conditions in the schools studied, conclusions regarding the significance of the findings, and a set of recommendations for educational policy-makers and practitioners concerned with reducing stressful conditions.

Volume II includes the full case studies of each of the six schools studied and a report on the indepth interviews with each of the six principals of these schools. Volume III contains a much more detailed discussion of the methodologies used as well as the actual instruments which were developed or revised to aid in data collection.

While Volume I is seen as an overview document and perhaps of most direct applicability and interest to policy-makers and practitioners, readers are encouraged to examine all three volumes in order to gain more complete information and insights on the procedures and findings of the study.

PREFACE

History tells us that vivid descriptions of reality can sometimes transform society. At the turn of the century, Upton Sinclair, in The Jungle, described conditions in the slaughter yards of Chicago with such vividness that society demanded reforms in the food processing industry. Movie and television records of the conditions of war have graphically portrayed the suffering and human toll taken and have influenced public opinion and action. If the descriptive record is powerful enough to arouse the readers' or viewers' emotions and engages their intellect, then there occurs a popular demand to change the situation.

I believe that this study of stress in the lives of urban teachers contains descriptions which will move the reader both emotionally and rationally. It should be difficult for anyone who cares about public schooling in America to remain indifferent when they are informed that there are schools in which:

--the plaster falling from the ceiling created a safety hazard to children and observers alike;

--"street people," juveniles not in school, irate parents and others could enter and roam the halls;

--school and community representatives were unable to prevent the operation of a methadone clinic on the same block as the school;

--no textbooks existed in some classes and a new teacher was told to use old Readers Digests as texts;

--the potential for positive parental involvement was virtually non-existent as school personnel and parents frequently criticized each other and openly exhibited hostile behavior toward one another;

--the teachers' restroom consistently had no toilet paper, paper towels or soap;

--mid-terms were cancelled because the school ran out of paper;

--racial tensions among school personnel at one site established role models which encouraged racial separation rather than integration among students;

--teachers were faced with the threat of transfer and layoff throughout the school year.

The case studies in this volume provide richer descriptions of schooling and of the lives of teachers and students in these schools than does the sampling of findings given above. The descriptive records and the interviews with teachers provide jarring evidence of why some conditions of urban teaching in the 1980s are perceived to be so stressful. Any teacher who did not feel occupational stress when working in environments like those cited above would be aberrant.

Fortunately, the same descriptions of schooling that are so disconcerting contain some information needed to propose solutions to these difficult problems. Thus, this study provides teacher educators, school board members, school administrators, and parents with recommendations for the reduction of occupationally-related stress experienced by urban teachers.

This study is disconcerting to those of us who believe that teaching should be a noble profession and that public schooling is one of the great inventions of democratic America. What these researchers have found in some instances is a profession under great stress and schools that are not educating youth in the way they should. I wish to point out, however, that this study need not lead to despair. The research suggests ideas which would benefit all teachers and students by enhancing conditions of teaching and learning. If these ideas for improvement do not soon lead to action, the profession and the educational system that should be sources of great national pride may be severely threatened.

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VOLUME I

Table of Contents

Introduction. 1

Background. 2
Overview of School Site Description 3
Methodology 3
Conceptual Framework. 5
Limitations 6

General Categories of Stressors: A Cross-Site Analysis 9

Security. 9
Governance/Leadership 10
Budget Cuts 11
Staff Relations 13
Student Issues. 14

"No Respect" and "Barriers to Teaching:" Two Basic Stressors 15

Lack of Respect Syndrome. 15
Barriers to Teaching. 16

Recommendations 19

Epilog. 27

The Condition of Urban Schools. 27
The School As A Workplace 28

Appendix
Overview of Related Literature. 31

Introduction

This is a study of six schools in two major cities, the conditions in those schools, the extent to which these conditions contributed to perceived stress among the faculty, and the types of behaviors and attitudes attributed to that perceived stress. An attempt was made to select "average" schools, neither the best nor the worst in the system. They were representative in that they included elementary, middle and secondary levels; small and large student populations; old and new buildings; and varying neighborhood settings.

Through a grant from the National Institute of Education to the American Federation of Teachers, the research upon which this report is based was conducted by staff members of the College of Education at Roosevelt University in Chicago. The purpose was to begin to understand more clearly the relationship between working conditions in schools and debilitating stress on teachers. Was there, in fact, a growing phenomenon in the schools, often labeled by the media as teacher stress or burnout, and if so, what conditions were related to the existence of stress? Data analyses were done by the Roosevelt researchers, and interpretations, which are presented later in this report, are a result of a combination of efforts by the project's National Advisory Board and representatives of the American Federation of Teachers as well as those of the researchers.

One prime factor driving the need to examine this issue was the growing public perception that conditions in schools, particularly urban schools, are deteriorating, as are the attitudes and competence of administrators, teachers, and students within those schools. It seemed essential to obtain a more clear and complete picture of the conditions and practices of these schools in order to begin to describe the possible influences of perceived stressful factors on school operations and individual attitudes and behaviors.

A second reason for investigating how working conditions and negative stress might be related was the fact that teachers recently have been confronted with a wide range of new demands. Some examples are due process rights of students, least restrictive environment regulations for education of the handicapped, accountability tests, and increased paperwork and bureaucratization. Changes in teacher working conditions have been well documented by historians (Cremin, 1961; Tyack, 1974), sociologists (Lortie, 1975; Dreeban, 1973), psychologists (Fuchs, 1968; Wolcott, 1978). A common theme running through these inquiries was that these changed working conditions added burdens which contributed significantly to feelings of isolation and helplessness and a sense of acquiring new responsibility without the authority to accomplish the task or the resources to get the job done.

It seemed logical that if teachers are under duress and conditions are less than optimal, the quality of teaching and learning consequently suffers. The reader's attention in examining this report should not focus solely on the quality of life of teachers and others in these schools but on some inferences which can be drawn about the quality of the learning environment and its potential impact on students' opportunities, achievement, health, safety and general well-being.

A final introductory word should be said about the organization of this report. Because of the importance of the case study data and the resultant findings and recommendations, Volume I of this report breaks set with traditional research reporting formats. Too often the message in research reports is lost in the midst of mountains of data, explanations of methodologies, and supporting materials. In order to avoid this, the heart of our findings, along with recommendations are presented in Volume I. The full case study data and principal interviews presented in Volume II of this report are much more extensive and reveal aspects of the schools studied in much more detail than will be included in Volume I. The careful examination of Volume II is important for those interested in the in-depth evidence supporting the analyses and recommendations. In turn, detailed descriptions of the methodology and instruments used and developed are provided in Volume III.

Readers are encouraged to examine all volumes within this report to develop a total understanding of the conditions and stressors studied and, if they so desire, consider alternative interpretations.

Background

This investigation examined stressors associated with the occupation of teaching which are thought to cause debilitating stress. Stress is part of our daily existence--at home, at work and at rest. It operates among all ages, occupations, races, sexes, socio-economic classes and religions. Physiologically, stress is a response, a reaction in the mind and body to a change or a stimulation called a stressor (Selye, 1956). Stress can serve to promote physical and psychological well-being, or it can debilitate, sometimes severely, both mentally and physically. What is debilitating stress for one person may be a positive stimulant for another. Some individuals cope well in stressful situations, while others fall apart or "burn out." Burnout has been defined as "physical, emotional and attitudinal exhaustion" (Hendrickson, 1979). Stress may be manifested on the job in low staff morale, absenteeism or high job turnover. Some of the institutional variables which have been related to dysfunctional stress are feelings of ineffectivenss on the job, anonymity, powerlessness and confinement for long periods of time. Physical and psychological disorders which may result from negative stress include coronary heart disease, asthma, kidney and gastrointestinal disease, hostility, depression and nervous disorders (National School Resource Network, 1981). In Newell's view (1979) dysfunctional stress has reached epidemic proportions in schools; "stress is one of the worst health problems all teachers have to contend with." The descriptive and analytical research presented here examined factors, or stressors, hypothesized to be related to the development of unproductive stress in schools. It must be pointed out, however, that the reader should not assume direct causality between conditions and practices described in this report and the existence of dysfunctional stress among teachers. The nature of the study and the methodologies employed do not allow causality to be inferred, only the co-existence of certain conditions and practices with various levels of stress. From the descriptions and analyses provided, however, a set of conclusions and recommendations have been formulated regarding some "best guesses" about possible steps for schools to take to minimize conditions and practices found related to higher stress in the six case studies.

Overview of School Site Description

The two districts from which the sample schools were drawn were similar in terms of average daily attendance, numbers of students enrolled and male-female composition of faculty. Faculties in the sample schools of District A were predominantly white, while in the sample schools of District B they were rather evenly divided between black and white. In District A's sample schools, most students were Caucasian or Hispanic while in District B most students were black. Within each district, the age of school buildings was similar but District B had newer buildings than District A. Communities surrounding the sample schools were largely low-income and were not generally viewed as "safe," with the exception of one high school in District A which served a middle-income neighborhood which was seen as safe.

The six schools involved in this study comprised one elementary, one middle and one high school in each of the two major urban areas. Because it would be difficult to label any urban school as "typical," an effort was made to select schools which were not drastically atypical. The schools had many features in common with one another, but there were also unique features in each school. To some extent, the samples were chosen so that comparisons and contrasts could be made between and among both similar and dissimilar schools.

For example, five of the six principals were males in the 40-60 age bracket while the other was a female in her forties. All had academic work beyond the Masters degree. The males had six to nine years' experience as leaders in their current schools, while the female was in her first year at her school. All had at least five years' previous administrative experience.

The student enrollments in individual schools ranged from 450 to 2,700 and the number of teachers from 18 to 130. The high schools had student enrollments slightly higher than their buildings' intended capacity, the middle schools were at capacity, and one elementary school was at capacity while the other only half filled. The physical condition of the schools (as judged by project observations) ranged from very bad to good. In general, the schools were similar in terms of number and kind of special programs, background of faculty, dropout and vandalism rates, level of teacher unionization and achievement levels of students.

Methodology

During the course of the study, information about the schools was obtained in several ways. In general, one could describe the data-gathering techniques as descriptive case studies, using methods adapted from ethnography to record the life events in each site and to gain insights from personnel in the schools about their responses to those events. All information was analyzed and synthesized to describe each school as fully as possible and to identify potential stressors. Emphasis, it should be noted, was on the identification and description of stressors related to the context or culture of the school and the system--the work environment--rather than on other factors such as the background and personality characteristics of individual teachers. (See

Volume III for complete description of methodology.) There were three rounds of observation in the six schools, although the first round was somewhat limited due to entry and approval problems at the project's outset. Schools were observed at the beginning, middle and end of the 1980-1981 school year and each observation period lasted 3-4 consecutive weeks. Two field researchers were assigned to District A and two to District B.

Field researchers forwarded raw data materials to project staff following each round of site visits, along with a report using the cultural universals framework to describe each school. These reports built upon one another as the rounds progressed. While the field researchers highlighted time-bound events and areas which changed from round to round, they emphasized aspects of the culture which were on-going.

It was the task of project staff at Roosevelt University to review and content analyze these data. Reports sent in by field researchers were compared with one another by the staff in order to identify areas or aspects upon which there was widely discrepant opinion. Areas of varying interpretation were identified and resolved. Only those aspects of the culture which were generally supported by both field researchers in a site were included in the descriptions of each school.

While field researchers were not instructed to gather observational data specifically within the eight universals or about the "3 S's" categories, the key informant interview questions were grouped by universal. During field researchers' training, considerable time was directed to becoming familiar with models. Field researchers went into the school setting with a strong awareness and orientation of the model design and this awareness certainly influenced their data-gathering activities. The primary activity and formal function of the cultural universals model was as a coding procedure of vastly diverse data.

Once the content analyses were completed, copies were sent to all staff members and field researchers for final comment. Any additions or deletions were noted and similarly discussed by project staff. In addition, a number of independent researchers were sent copies of the report for comment, specifically to address if inferences were supported by sufficient data.

Field researchers and project staff then separately identified a list of stressful factors that were common to the observed schools. Lists were compared and discussed, and a final listing agreed upon by all parties. As part of the data analysis, field researchers also provided a breakdown of the important elements of their school descriptions into the categories of status, security and sociability. This typically followed the "stressor identification" procedure and was for the primary purpose of locating more specific reasons why certain factors were indeed stressful. The "3 S's" categories facilitated a clearer understanding of the measure and source of the stressors.

Following the third round of site visits, final case studies were prepared by field researchers and edited collaboratively by project staff.

After each round of observations, a site visit by at least two project staff other than the field researchers was conducted. Visits were usually two days in length and were conducted primarily for validation purposes. Interviews and observations were conducted, and considerable time was usually spent with the school principal discussing the study, its progress and any problems that were experienced.

Due to early indications of the apparent importance of the principal's role as a potential influence on stress in the schools observed, interviews with the principal took on greater significance. Indepth entry interviews were conducted with principals by one of the primary investigators prior to the first round of observations. It was decided also to conduct a similar exit interview for each principal and present results as an additional data source if found to add significantly to the other information gathered. Results of these interviews are presented in Volume II of this report.

In addition to the primary school observation data, there were other secondary data sources which were considered in describing the schools. The key informant interviews, other than those with the principals, were useful in checking perceptions within and across role groups. In-class and out-of-class observations complemented the school level work, as did informal discussions about critical events, organizational factors and their influence, personnel relationships, etc. Finally, information was gathered through a variety of paper-and-pencil measures including a School Community Survey, a key respondent survey assessing "life in the school," self-report measures of perceived stress (developed by project staff) for both teachers and administrators, and a Follow-Up Stress Questionannaire for more detail on issues brought up during interviews or self-reports. Finally, daily logs were also kept by many of the participating teachers.

Conceptual Framework

A framework was needed within which to categorize and analyze the massive amount of data collected on the elementary, middle and high school studied in each of the two cities. The researchers chose to draw upon work done in psychological anthropology (Hsu, 1959 and Schwartz, 1978) which postulates that once the basic human needs are met, individuals seek <u>security</u>, <u>status</u> and <u>sociability</u> (the "3 Ss") in their culture[1] and society and in their occupational and personal activities and associations. A productive socio-cultural system (and for this study schools comprise a subset of this system) must provide opportunities for the persons functioning in that system to achieve these "3 Ss" in appropriate degrees.[2] <u>Security</u> refers to the individual's and group's feelings, perceptions and experiences of freedom from fear, economic competence, intellectual success, protection of and adherence to the law, affective and cognitive competence, and religious

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[1] Culture refers to the beliefs and behaviors shared by the majority of individuals in a society or organization.

[2] The definitions and elements of the model were developed for the study by H. Schwartz.

safety. Status refers to the individual and group beliefs and behaviors concerning self-esteem, respect, social worth, self identity and group worth, individual and group prestige, opportunities for career mobility and growth, and one's standing in relationship to the formal and informal structure of the organization. Sociability refers to individual and group goodwill, compatibility, friendship, recognition of the worth of others, productive interaction, flexibility, warmth, affective relations, and giving and receiving of affection.

Each cultural system strives to create an ethos in which the members of that culture can obtain security, status and sociability. By examining universal aspects of a culture, identification of structural, functional and procedural patterns which can maximize or minimize group security, status and sociability are enhanced. Schools share common characteristics with other cultures and can be viewed in terms of some commonly accepted anthropological constructs or universals. Each school, community and culture has common ways of handling such universal aspects of behavior, but each also displays unique ways of doing so. Eight such universals, described below, were examined for each school.

Every culture and subculture has a value system which indicates what ought to be the preferred way of doing things or of believing what is good and what is bad. All have a cosmology or world view which specifies what constitutes reality in the school, community, church, etc. Each cultural unity has some form of social organization which governs individual and group relationships, even to the point of determining forms of verbal address. Each system has a technology, a body of knowledge and skills used to perform the tasks necessary for the system to function and survive. There is an economic system which regulates the allocation of goods and services in the school. Further, there is a form of governance or a political system regulating individual and institutional behavior which specifies how decisions are made; how power, authority and influence are acquired and used; and who participates in what decisions. Typically, there is a language uniquely suited to the educational process or subject matter in the classrooms. Finally, there is a socialization process or educational process which regularizes the transmission of knowledge to the unlearned ones in the group (Schwartz, 1974). The models described constitute one of many conceptual frameworks which researchers could use to observe the world and explain what is observed in a rational manner. The cultural universal "3 S" approach provided a valuable framework for organizing and interpreting the large quantities of observational data that were collected.

Limitations

This study is a descriptive, exploratory investigation using observation, interview, document review and other techniques to provide "rich" and "thick" descriptions of conditions and practices in six schools. The findings reported are indicative of the working conditions only in the six schools studied and are not intended to characterize either the working conditions or the relative extent of teacher stress in the entirety of the two school systems involved.

While numerous data collection instruments were distributed, such as the Community Survey, Daily Log and The School Observation Sheet (instruments included in Volume III), these instruments were used with limited numbers of subjects. This limited use, as well as some concerns regarding the instruments' validity and reliability in this context, led to an examination of the data collected by these means in a limited and qualitative, rather than quantitative, manner. By design, the major data source was the information obtained by field researchers through interviews, observations, and document analysis. The skilled subjective descriptions and judgments of the field researchers were relied upon heavily. Where possible and feasible, these qualitative assessments were verified by additional written responses from multiple data sources. In short, statistical displays do not abound; the sample sizes involved and the aforementioned desirability of the case study approach would make such displays inappropriate.

It should also be noted that the focus of this study was on groups, not individuals. The units of analysis were the school and the role groups found within each of the six schools, how these role groups appeared to interact, and the impact of those interactions within the context of each school's conditions and practices. The study did not go beyond certain boundaries of the school social system to attempt to consider whether other outside forces (e.g., familial problems at home) affected the level of stress.

In general, the findings should be viewed as emphasizing those aspects of the work environment which are <u>inhibiting</u> the satisfaction of status, security and sociability needs of teachers. That is, they describe stressors which negatively affect teachers and do not focus upon other conditions in the schools which may have supported teaching or added to the profession's appeal. Finally, student achievement in the six schools was not measured in the course of the study. Efforts to begin to understand stressful conditions and practices are far too nascient to allow for measurement of correlations between these conditions and practices and student achievement. The hope is that what is provided in this report will serve as a stimulus for the identification of hypotheses which can then be tested as a result of the better definition of conditions and practices herein. This effort, therefore, is seen as an important first step.

Finally, recommendations in this study, which follow the findings and implications, concentrate primarily on <u>preventive</u> measures school systems and others might take to attempt to improve working conditions perceived by teachers as leading to negative stress. Although based on the research findings, these recommendations are highly inferential and supported by a limited data base in only six schools. Yet, the richness of the six case studies and the data base provided herein should give at least face validity to the recommendations.

General Categories of Stressors: A Cross-Site Analysis

The case study prepared for each of the six schools revealed a set of stressors which described that schools' work environment. Comparisons of findings across the schools resulted in five major categories of stressors: Security, Governance/Leadership, Budget Cuts, Student Issues and Staff Relations. Interestingly, student issues were found to be stressors only in the two high schools. Yet, aspects of stressors in the four remaining categories were perceived by teachers to be significant problems in all or most of the schools studied. The following descriptions of categories of stressors, based on findings in cross-site analyses provide an overview of the types of stressors found and specific examples of the stressful conditions and/or practices.

Security

Security, identified as important in five of the six case studies, included a number of issues: personal safety and protection of property, as well as job security. The most prevalent security concern was related to individuals' personal safety. In areas where neighborhoods were dangerous or perceived as dangerous, teachers felt continually threatened. They especially feared assault and crime outside the school plant. In one school, for example, field researchers were told to "avoid parking on certain blocks if you don't want your battery stolen." In another school, a teacher confided that "one of my biggest fears is to leave late and to find that not only my car has been stolen but that I am now stranded in this neighborhood." A methadone clinic on the corner caused some concern for teachers in one school. Some of the adults in and around this school were described by the PTA president as pimps, prostitutes and drug addicts. One teacher said that she had students walk her to the street to get a cab.

The fears for person and property were exacerbated in schools with poorly organized and inefficient security procedures. This heightened anxiety within the building, often brought on by intrusion from outsiders and classroom interruptions. Teachers in one school complained that entry into the school by outsiders was possible because the security aide was rarely at her assigned post. In another school, teachers felt that parents were allowed to interrupt classroom teaching anytime they wished. Besides being unfair because it took time away from the teaching tasks, teachers felt that this practice was, with respect to some parents, potentially dangerous to their physical well-being. In another school, during one forty-five minute observation period, ten adults walked in and out of the class.

Finally, both urban systems studied have experienced large budget deficits and cuts in recent years, and teachers have witnessed colleagues being transferred involuntarily or losing their jobs. The problem of job security resulted from a combination of the school systems' financial difficulties and shrinking enrollments. Teachers felt relative degrees of stress concerning their subject assignment and seniority, i.e., their chance of being bumped or laid off. One teacher, a fifteen-year veteran, confided that he was not so much afraid of losing his job as he was of being

transferred. This would require that he leave a lot of people whom he had worked with for many years and try to establish anew both friendly and collegial relationships. At this stage of his career, he felt this was unfair. He concluded, "Sure, I know that I will have a job, but where it will be, I don't know. I just keep my bags packed." Teachers not only fear that jobs will not be protected, but some teachers feel trapped as many avenues for career advancement have been closed because of reductions in staff, again necessitated by the financial plight and declining enrollments in both systems.

Governance/Leadership

Stressors related to governance/leadership were identified prominently in each of the six schools studied. This category referred to dissatisfaction or unhappiness with the leadership of the principal, as well as the operation of higher levels of administration as this affected teachers. The principal, quite clearly, was shown by the data to be the most significant actor in the school in terms of influence over the working climate. The principal was seen as having more power than other actors to alter working conditions and control material and resource allocations, security procedures, evaluations of performance, discipline measures, and even staff expectations. As a result, the principal can have a major impact on the levels of stress in a school. Teachers seemed to want a principal who has a clear set of expectations, is consistent and egalitarian, and allows for teacher input into decision-making. In general, the further a principal departs from these ideals, the more stressful the situation becomes for teachers. While it is clear that the principal can also be a victim of stressors in schools, he/she is in a unique position to play a powerful role in addressing these stressors.

Several examples will illustrate. In one school, teachers complained about not really "knowing what the principal wants." They explained that lesson plan books were not collected and that the way the principal arrived at evaluations of faculty was a mystery. One teacher added, "He (the principal) has never come into my room to observe me; yet, somehow, he knows that I am a superior teacher." Teachers at this school were puzzled at the way the principal made decisions with the limited input they had in these decisions. Similarly, at another school, teachers complained about their principal who made unannounced classroom evaluation visits primarily for punitive reasons. When teachers did or said something the principal didn't like, they knew they could expect an evaluation visit, sometimes several. Teachers in this school agreed with the statement of colleagues who said of the principal, "Yes, he goes through the motions of asking for our input, but he already has his mind made up about what he is going to do." Other comments of teachers presented related images of feelings about this principal: "I'll talk to you, but not in this school; he (the principal) will find out." "He never gives in, he always wins no matter how long it takes." "Don't let that calm voice fool you, he can be devastating if you cross him."

Conversely, in another school, faculty were favorable in their attitudes about the principal, and the atmosphere of the school had considerably less apparent tension than the others described. The principal here valued teacher input and teachers' abilities to make decisions. He gave teachers some voice in selection of materials, and in his words, in "anything that

has to do with children in the school." A number of teachers were very favorable about the "open door philosophy of the principal" and the "cooperative and realistic principal." One teacher commented that "the individual is given great consideration here . . . the school is unique in this regard." The principal in this school even went out of his way at each year's end to send a personal letter to each teacher expressing thanks to him or her for various accomplishments of the year.

Problems with higher levels of administration were also identified, with either the central or district office administration being the source of the difficulty. The Board was seen as causing duplication of effort and excessive amounts of paperwork; as forcing top-down orders and mandates which ignored any teacher input; and as being unreasonable in demands, yet unavailable when needed or simply insensitive and uncaring. Certain rules and regulations caused teachers to feel that those who ran the system did not support or respect them. The actions of higher levels of governance added to teacher feelings of isolation and the sense that nobody cared, consequently lowering their self-esteem and status. Teachers believed themselves to be the ones who perform the basic task of any school system, the teaching. They perceived their wishes and concerns to be unacknowledged by policy makers, and their sense of personal and professional worth was therefore violated.

Comments of teachers from several schools epitomize this situation. In one school, the Board of Education was described as "inept, inconsistent and unsupportive." Teachers complained about meager supplies, too much paperwork, and little support for students. Said one teacher, "I have a transportation form to fill out and I don't even understand the directions!" Another teacher described her frustrations this way: "Rumors, we hear rumors, the best things about the Board are rumors. They constantly change their structure. You don't know who you're talking to, who is the boss. A guy just comes in and says, 'I'm your Regional Coordinator.'" Still another teacher explained that the Board rewards failure: "It is built on a deficit model -- when something fails, they send help. Good teachers don't teach others as a matter of course, so teachers equate help when it is sent with failure."

Teachers in other schools had similar attitudes about the higher levels of administration. Teachers in several schools of one system had complaints about a mastery learning curriculum which was forced upon them without their input and required large amounts of paperwork. Similarly, a new high school social studies curriculum formulated without teacher input, as well as a new management-by objectives (MBO) lesson plan format, were both criticized by teachers and forced upon them without opportunity for discussion. In yet another school, teachers were critical of a mandate handed down by a new district superintendent which detailed size and location of all wastepaper baskets in classrooms.

Budget Cuts

In this era of financial retrenchment, school systems have faced large cutbacks. This has had severe effects on every school and on individual

teachers in affected systems. Problems associated with budget cuts were identified in all of the six schools studied. The most seriously affected areas were personnel, supplies, maintenance and repairs. Teachers witness their colleagues being transferred or fired and often have had to accept intrusions on their turf from outsiders due to new programs brought in to increase enrollments. Along with this, security personnel were being cut, as well as support staff, such as paraprofessionals, teacher aides, clerks and secretaries, who were all vital cogs in the operation of a school.

Lack of supplies, poor condition of equipment, few repairs of facilities and inadequate maintenance in a majority of the schools observed made the teacher's primary task extremely difficult. Teachers lacked rudimentary materials like books and paper; special equipment often did not work; and the condition of the building was often depressing -- with cracked walls, roaches and mice, and no toilet tissue in bathrooms. Several teachers commented that this all had negative psychological effects on them and the children.

The extent of problems associated with budget cuts and retrenchment was evident in several examples. One school had a total supplies budget of $2,000 for the year, including postage. Incredibly, teachers in this school reported that no midterm exams were given last year because of paper shortages. This year, teachers reported writing extensive assignments on the blackboard because of limited supplies of mimeograph paper. One teacher lamented that he simply buys his own materials. His school had a fire on the first floor last year, but instead of repairing the damage, the Board chose to save money and simply wall off the damaged area. A bench in the carpentry shop was witnessed as not being secured to the floor, so one student had to hold it down while another worked. The school's television set was broken, the only pay phone out of order during several visitations, and several classroom radiators made a great deal of noise and did not function properly. School athletic facilities were in poor condition, the play yard was covered with potholes, and graffiti was abundant. There have been several instances of students being hit with plaster falling off the walls. Commented one teacher on the depressing nature of facilities, "I begin to feel as if the school and children don't really matter to anyone." Another summed up, "It is a dreary place to work because the building is decaying."

Similar concerns were reflected in other schools. A reading teacher in one school related how she was told to use Reader's Digest when she complained of having no textbooks to work with. In another school, a teacher described the plant as being a "terrible" place. "It used to be mopped and waxed twice a year, during Christmas and Spring breaks. But now, with budget cuts, it probably won't even get that." Teachers at several schools shared the perception that no one was immune from being affected by budgetary problems. And with cuts in security, cuts in support staff and added duties, teachers found that they must do more than ever before but with greatly limited resources. Sample comments verify concerns which have mounted: "Budget changes mean increased work load but less time." "Everything is increased, except your salary." "I didn't do a third of the administrative work in the '60s as I do now." "I have been forced to take more students than my contract specifies, which makes me feel that the contract is useless."

Staff Relations

Three schools were characterized as having stressors due to staff relations. This meant that whatever the site-specific reasons, relationships among teachers were either hostile, unfriendly or uncooperative. At these schools, groups of teachers simply coexisted with one another much of the time, with limited interaction professionally and socially. In each case, groups of teachers were pitted against one another. In one school, regular teachers were threatened by the influx of new and competing programs, and jealousies resulted with no adequate forum for discussion and/or resolution. In this school, all of the newer program teachers in the school were viewed by the regular faculty as "non-staff." One teacher described the newcomers as "pulling apart" the faculty. The union representative was quite upset with the so-called non-staff persons for using the refrigerator. "It belongs to us!" he said, "I don't care if we use it or not . . . it's ours!" Even the principal refers to his staff as "the Regular Staff" and the newer reading teachers as "the Readiness Staff."

In another school, a group of older, experienced faculty banded together to oppose the principal and union representative, both of whom emphasized the importance of a close-knit faculty. One teacher remarked about this incident:

> "It's very divided here, even on union matters. Most want unity ...it's always the same destructive group. They laugh at the others. People should stop back-biting. There are jealousies among men over power, over political issues. Some people are jealous of the union rep. They tried to oust him. He does a very good job...yet no one [from the dissident group] would volunteer to be a union secretary...They never make contributions. They are the first to say no to social activities. They think they have power, but they don't have much. Everyone here has equal power. Our union rep. has to watch his p's and q's. If there were more unity, it would make for a nicer working environment."

Finally, groups were formed along racial lines in a third school and a segregated system flourished. During the breakfast and lunch periods, black teachers sat at certain tables and white teachers sat at others. Newly assigned teachers to the school quickly became socialized as to the appropriate places to sit.

The principal, when asked about the racial split in the faculty, responded, "It's sad, but you know I've been around a long time and it just doesn't seem to work -- black teachers and white teachers." He is now resigned to attending two Christmas parties, one attended primarily by blacks, the other attended primarily by whites. The principal confided, "Anyway, I go to both parties and I always seem to have more fun at the black party than the white one."

In each of the instances described, the relations of the staff which had developed over time undermined the development of a cohesive working

environment and made these schools less pleasant places to work and at least in the latter case, provided a negative role model for students.

Student Issues

Student issues were identified as a category of stressors only in the two high schools. The older age students appeared to affect teachers in two ways. First, the students were bigger and stronger and posed a greater threat than younger, smaller children in terms of personal safety. The proliferation of gangs and the concommitant problems were prevalent in one site, while poor attitudes, verbal abuse and fears of violence characterized the other school. Since the majority of students in one high school were black, and in the other high school the majority of the students were white, these concerns would seem to transcend racial differences. These concerns are exemplified by a set of annual events in one school known as the "fall classic" and in the other school referred to as "White Christmas." The "fall classic" is the annual gang recruitment drive which takes place in the school each year, with its concommitant violence, threats to student and adult safety, vandalism and disruption of the education process. "White Christmas" describes the goal of white students in the other high school to rid the student population of all blacks (approximately 20% of the enrollment) by Christmas break. Again, violence, threats and disruption characterize the atmosphere of the school during this period.

Second, teachers in both sites were concerned about the low academic achievement of students. In one school, teachers lamented the decline in ability over the years and felt that these students probably were better suited for a more vocationally oriented curriculum. In the other school, also with low achieving students, teachers complained of being unprepared to teach high school students with such poor skills. This combination of older and stronger students with low ability or achievement posed both a physical threat and a teaching burden on the respective high school faculties.

"No Respect" and "Barriers to Teaching:" Two Basic Stressors

The previous cross-site analysis, based on case study data collected in each of the six schools, described conditions in those schools which affect teachers' levels of stress. Admittedly, they summarize only those aspects of the work environment which appeared to inhibit the satisfaction of status, security and sociability needs of teachers. The study did not concentrate on identifying aspects of the school environment which might have supported teachers' efforts. While it is therefore possible to argue that the conclusions drawn from that cross-site analysis and the two basic stressors cited below imply a world more dreary than real, it is difficult to argue that these stressors are acceptable, no matter what else is occurring in any of the schools. And, although student achievement levels in these schools were not examined, it is difficult to logically contend that the existence of such stressors would not have some negative effect on the potential for effective teaching and maximum student learning.

The two basic stressors described below suggest what it is about teaching in the six schools studied that contributed to teachers' feelings of stress. The major stressors which cut across the lines of status, security and sociability needs were a lack of respect for teachers and teachers' belief that they were not respected and the existence of barriers to teaching. Both lead to a sense of frustration, denigration of personal and professional worth, and a feeling of powerlessness.

Lack of Respect Syndrome

Teacher's frequent perception that they are held in low esteem by administrators, students, parents and/or the general public contributes to a major stress-producing factor, referred to here as "the lack of respect syndrome." Teachers feel they receive too few rewards and too little support or appreciation. Typical comments by teachers reflecting this perception are:

> "You see and hear only the bad, seldom the good."
>
> "No one cares or is able to effect change."
>
> "The lack of power to change the situation for the better makes the job stressful."

Teachers perceive that directives are forced upon them from above which clearly affect the performance of their job. At the same time, they perceive that they have little input into the decision-making process, that little opportunity is given to them to express ideas to policymakers, and that administrators manipulate them and can be either too authoritarian or non-directive.

Security concerns heighten these feelings of powerlessness, as teachers believe they are forced to work in unsafe conditions in jobs that may or may not have long-term protection. Due to budget cuts and the resultant

limited funds for materials, maintenance and repairs, teachers see their work environment deteriorating around them. Again, they have no control over this situation.

Teachers also report seeing fewer opportunities for advancement but must worry simply about preserving the status quo. Given present trends, they feel trapped in what now may seem to be a dead-end job, with no assurances that working conditions and job security are not likely to erode further.

Adding to these tensions, students, according to teachers, are increasingly disrespectful, uninterested, disruptive and verbally abusive. Parents often disapprove of teachers' work. Even colleagues on staff commonly form into groups and are unable or unwilling to work cooperatively.

The sense evoked is that teachers do not get the respect they feel they deserve. As a consequence of their perceptions of few rewards, little support from administrators and decreasing respect from students, teachers feel that control of their environment is trickling away. Job security seems a relic of the past, while new tasks -- from the MBO daily lesson plan to larger classes to educating "mainstreamed" children -- are required. Punctuating this is the overall perception that the media and general public continue to demean their efforts. In sum, teachers feel powerless, deflated and generally unappreciated, for they see themselves being held responsible for negative situations over which they have little, if any, control and getting little, or no, recognition for positive efforts and accomplishments.

Barriers to Teaching

While lack of respect refers to how teachers feel they are perceived by others, the stress factors can be viewed in another way, namely as barriers to teaching, obstacles to carrying out the expected duties of a professional educator. Principals expect teachers to do a variety of non-teaching functions from patrolling halls, to lunchroom duty, to taking attendance in a homeroom. Boards of education commonly demand copious, and often repetitive, paperwork, whether it be new forms or daily lesson plans or mastery learning cards which must be filled out for all students as they complete levels of achievement. New mandates requiring students to leave class for special instruction often were perceived as disruptive to lessons. Teachers also expressed strong resentment at having to function as security personnel to bolster safety inside schools. Intrusions and the threat of intrusions into classrooms by outsiders were very unsettling, and many teachers seemed preoccupied with the potential for such occurrences. In their view, teachers sought training in order to teach, not to become quasi-police.

Similarly, teachers felt burdened by shortages of supplies and equipment and by depressing conditions, all of which made even their routine tasks difficult. Without available paper, tests cannot be given; without texts, lessons are more difficult to prepare; without working mimeograph or copying machines, resources cannot be reproduced to substitute for lacking textbooks; cracked walls, falling plaster, insufficient or non-

existent toilet tissue in bathrooms all had a seemingly negative psychological effect on teachers. In addition, it was perceived that an inordinate amount of time was required to adequately discipline a continually increasing number of disruptive students. Despite these hindrances and distractions, extra time was needed to bring low ability or low achieving students up to levels where they could begin to learn appropriate material. Colleagues seemed unable or unwilling to pool resources and collectively resolve common problems. In short, teachers felt the system was replete with mandates and shortages, which had to be contended with but consumed valuable time, time needed for "settling in" and just teaching. In effect, it was not the act of teaching itself, but obstacles to it, which caused the teachers stress.

To teachers, these barriers to teaching, particularly those that decrease time for instruction, exist in a perceived dependency relationship to the lack of respect that serves to heighten stress in teaching. Teachers believe that more respect could be earned if the environmental restrictions (barriers) were eased. However, as long as budgets continue to dwindle, the resource of time for teaching will likely decrease also. The stress-causing factor is, therefore, a presently deteriorating condition that teachers feel powerless to change, at least within the near future. Thus, the challenge for the future appears to be how to remediate -- and cope positively in the interim with -- this situation. Since considerable agreement exists among school personnel concerning conditions in these schools (e.g., see Principal Interviews, Volume II), this becomes not only a challenge for teachers, but for school systems generally.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following suggestions for action are put forth with the assumption that what is proposed is essential and will benefit not only teachers, but students and the learning process. These recommendations are based on interpretations of data collected by the research subcontractor, Roosevelt University, but in some cases represent interpretations of these data by the project's National Advisory Board and/or the prime contractor, the American Federation of Teachers, rather than solely those of the researchers. While this study identifies stressors in only six schools, the recommendations suggest policies through which school systems could begin to remedy those conditions which seem to be related to dysfunctional stress. All are proposed as ways to overcome barriers to teaching, increase respect for teachers, allow teachers to regain some control over their environment and to enjoy and feel secure in their work. These conditions, it is felt, are essential to creation of a healthy teaching/learning environment and excellence in teaching.

1. Concentrated efforts must be made to inform educators and the public about the importance of considering and addressing two major aspects of stressors in schools: 1) stressors related to the physical, financial, organizational, managerial and status conditions of schools (e.g., poor security, discipline problems, decaying facilities, mismanagement, lack of supplies) and 2) stressors more generic to the teaching act itself, impacting negatively on teachers' psychological and emotional well-being and eventually, on their ability and/or willingness to pursue excellence in teaching. The latter stressors are typified by characteristics of teaching, such as isolation from adults/peers, lack of recognition, little respect from the community and general public, and few opportunities or rewards for intellectual rigor or creativity.

   Teacher preparatory institutions, school administrators, board members and the public must a) acknowledge the negative impact stressful working conditions have on teachers and the educational process and b) take action to improve education by developing approaches to remedying those working conditions related to dysfunctional stress. The schools chosen for this study were not unusual among urban schools in their demography, program offerings or school personnel. In every one, a majority of teachers believed that stressors related to their working conditions were a significant problem. For participating faculties, identified stressors were, in fact, genuine and pervasive, although there was some variation depending on individual school contexts. Key categories of stressors included financial and facility deficiencies, school and system-wide administrative practices and personal safety. Teachers, in general, felt unrewarded and unrespected for their efforts. Such stressors logically pose a serious threat to both teacher and school effectiveness. If a problem, like stress, is to be addressed, it necessarily must first be acknowledged as legitimate and in need of attention.

2. Opportunities should be provided for school principals through preservice and inservice programs to improve their leadership ability, including skills in management, communications and assessment of the climate and structure of learning environments and how to use and support action research strategies as a tool for improvement.

The principal was found to have tremendous influence on the degree of stress perceived by teachers in each school. Whether stress levels were relatively high or low, the principal was seen as a major determining factor, and therefore, was perceived as having the potential to both solve and cause school problems. Indeed, the principal can directly influence conditions by controlling material and resource allocations, security procedures, performance evaluations and discipline measures. For these reasons, principals in particular need a highly developed set of leadership and management skills and need also to expand such expertise to cope with the changing and persistent demands of their job. More specifically, principals could be strongly encouraged to focus on fostering two-way communication between faculty and administration (including clear and consistent articulation of expectations), giving teachers significant input into the decision-making process, minimizing intrusion of managerial requirements on the teaching/learning process, securing the school from outside threats and disruption, allowing for fair and equal treatment of all teachers, and promoting the image of the school and its personnel in the community.

3. Boards of education should establish mechanisms for assessing school needs related to protection of school personnel and students from physical harm and the psychological strain created by unsafe conditions. School authorities, city governments and community members should cooperatively take action to increase safety in and around the schools.

Personal safety was a major concern of a large majority of school personnel. Fears for personal safety and loss of personal property stemmed from limited control over volatile students, unsafe neighborhoods, school intruders and, in some cases, hostile parents. Because problems differ greatly from site to site, blanket procedures clearly are not the answer. Under present economic conditions, massive additional funding for security is unlikely. Innovative methods must be employed, making better use of existing monetary and human resources. District and individual school needs must first be assessed and action planned to address specific causes and problems.

Teachers frequently perceive boards of education as acting independently and unilaterally in demands they place upon teachers. In this case, a cooperative effort would have far more chance of success. The personal safety issue provides an opportunity for higher level administrators to respond positively and specifically to a generalized problem. Individual schools will likely need little encouragement to seek solutions to security problems. They will require information and support in considering cost-effective solutions.

Because the neighborhood in which the school is located can be a major contributor to school security problems, as evidenced in case studies by the presence of a nearby methadone clinic, school intruders, gang activity and danger to person and property entering and leaving school, community and city governments' involvement in resolving security problems is essential.

4. School systems' actions undertaken to maintain the physical school plant and grounds in good condition should be regularly reviewed and corrected when found to be inadequate.

Physical conditions in the six schools varied considerably. Some of the worst conditions observed were a caved-in roof and boarded up building wing, falling plaster, and mice and roaches. Peeling paint, grafitti, litter and deteriorating playgrounds were more commonly observed. Generally, building conditions were judged to be, at best, very poor to adequate, and funds for repairs and upkeep were almost certainly to decline in the future. These conditions were tolerated and in some cases taken for granted by school personnel. The acceptance of such conditions needs to be challenged and actions taken to correct them. Schools are places where we send our children. Therefore, the importance of the school to the community and the status of the teachers are reflected in the attention or lack of it given to the maintenance of facilities.

5. Local teacher unions, in cooperation with boards of education, should establish two types of ongoing collegial support groups for teachers: one for purposes of identification, discussion and formulation of strategies for dealing with commonly perceived stressors, and another to provide teachers with self-development and career planning support when dealing with job transfer or elimination.

The first type of support group provides teachers with a chance to ventilate concerns and a structure within which to address problems. Such groups can combat isolation, facilitate coordinated action, and renew esteem and hope for future improvement. An outcome of this can be a reduction in non-communicative teacher subgroups and enhancement of staff collegiality. It may be possible to adapt strategies for these purposes from techniques that have been successfully used in business, industry, social service agencies and other organizations, e.g., quality circles, problem-solving groups, but it is crucial to emphasize, however, that such strategies are potentially useful only if they truly insure two-way communication and joint decision-making.

The second support group provides teachers with a service which has been of increasing importance recently. Under existing austere budget conditions, teachers experience job insecurity due to the threat of involuntary transfers, changes in teaching assignments or layoffs. This support group can help answer the many questions teachers perhaps avoid or are afraid to consider in hopes that these actions will not involve them. With most stressors, teachers feel their span of control over their work is diminishing. With threats of job security in particular, however, whatever control there was

seems to vanish, and this can have a devastating impact. Preparation for even the possibility of transfer or termination should have the effect of increasing one's feeling of control. Such actions, even in schools where only a few persons may be in jeopardy, can have a rejuvenating effect on morale. With lessening of the anxiety associated with job insecurity, efforts can be refocused upon the task of teaching. Teacher unions represent a logical delivery mechanism for such services, because they can provide them in a less threatening environment. They may, however, require monetary and planning support from the school system to allow provision of such service to all teachers. Similar peer support groups should be established for all school personnel.

6. Preservice and inservice programs for teachers should increase teacher awareness of potential stressors in teaching and, to the extent possible, provide them with skills necessary to prevent or cope with these stressors.

As part of data collection, teachers were asked to identify the coping strategies they employed to deal with stress. Two important factors were revealed in the responses to stressors: there was little pattern to the response, and many of the strategies suggested would be judged to be dysfunctional. Some examples were "working through lunch," "drugs," and "sleeping a great deal." Case study data revealed little information on teachers' coping strategies, primarily because many teachers had little awareness of their own response to stressors and apparently were not prepared to take planned, positive action to deal with them. These experienced teachers had little knowledge concerning coping strategies and it is also clear that preservice teacher education programs do not pay a great deal of attention to this issue. Consequently, this recommendation is relevant for both pre- and in-service. It is intended, as in other recommendations, to help teachers regain some control over their environment that they feel has been lost. For preservice programs, it offers prospective teachers a realistic look at some of the environmental obstacles to teaching and ways to deal with them. We do not suggest that such understanding and coping strategies are sufficient to deal with all types of stressful conditions since many should not be tolerated and nothing less than elimination of those stressful conditions is acceptable. We do believe, however, that "lesser" stressors are also often harmful to teachers, simply because the teacher is totally unprepared to respond to them.

7. Principals, teachers and other educational staff should be given regularly scheduled time to increase opportunities for collegial interactions which enhance professional skills, promote the sharing of ideas, minimize the isolation of the classroom, and improve communications.

Many teachers lamented somewhat bitterly the tedium and continual pressure associated with closed campus policies. As a result, they regretted the lack of opportunity to mix either professionally or socially with their colleagues. The real stressor under such conditions is isolation and a resultant feeling of alienation. To some it was disorienting.

Conversely, the opportunity to share concerns was praised in schools where regular preparation time was provided. The collegial interaction was identified as a positive factor in dealing with day-to-day problems. A particularly successful approach for facilitating such interaction was the utilization of a resource person and room where teachers could obtain supplies, share ideas, and discuss problems. Such a resource colleague with regular hours, location and clear responsibilities provided stable and dependable assistance needed by teachers who work in a somewhat unpredictable environment. Vehicles for school-based staff development and collegiality, e.g., teacher centers, would seem to warrant further investigation. If these efforts are to be successful, the principal must be supportive and should participate on a collegial basis with teachers.

8. School systems should place high priority on the year-round provision of basic materials and equipment essential for learning. Immediate action needs to be taken to improve local school planning for resource allocation, to set and adhere to minimal classroom standards for equipment and supplies, and to create reasonable and clear expectations concerning availability of materials.

One example which dramatically exemplifies the problem addressed here is the school which could not give midterm exams because of the lack of paper. Similarly, in more than one school frictions developed between principals and faculties as school supplies became scarce, leading to charges of hoarding and preferential distribution. Whole classes of students were without textbooks. Audio-visual equipment was unusable, because it was in a state of disrepair.

Materials are essential to effective instruction and can aid the process of teaching. Adequate planning of instruction requires prior knowledge of type and amount and adequacy of materials that will be available. Such clear knowledge and availability were often lacking. Correcting this situation involves advance planning with input from principals and teachers at the building level, ongoing inventory reporting, and possibly exploration of additional funding sources for the schools.

9. School systems should assess the amount of paperwork and other non-instructional tasks required of teachers and devise systems which would accommodate required recordkeeping and managerial needs, yet give teachers ample time to concentrate on their primary function--teaching.

Preparation of lesson plans, grading and other tasks related directly to teaching were not found to be stressors. Yet, administrative paperwork and other non-instructional duties were. Frustration levels rose when Board demands for multiple copy forms were reversed in the middle of processing and new sets of forms called for. Obviously, there is a genuine need for reporting. However, if documentation precludes teaching and other educational activities, no purpose is served. Paperwork should be streamlined for maximum time-saving effectiveness and, if necessary, special personnel, including aides, should be used to carry out this and other non-instructional tasks.

10. Boards of education, school administrators and teacher unions should cooperatively explore the ramifications of new staffing patterns and career ladders for teachers.

In addition to the feeling of isolation from peers and other adults, teachers often had the sense that no one valued their work and that, under present economic conditions, their careers "dead-ended." Professional growth and intellectual pursuits were not visibly encouraged or rewarded by the system. This tends to cause a faculty to become indifferent, demoralized and static.

New career ladders for teachers might allow them to remain part-time in the classroom, while having the opportunity to be rewarded professionally and economically for specialized training, study, and ability in various other educational roles. The teacher might also spend part-time in staff or curriculum development, counseling, educational research, diagnosis and prescription, and so forth. To have a positive impact, this opportunity must be available to all interested and qualified career teachers within the system.

Because career ladders in teaching would involve significant institutional change, such modification would be possible only with all constituents' concerns being fully aired and the impact of change explored and resolved satisfactorily for all affected parties.

11. Boards of education should assess the impact of their decisions on daily life in classrooms and schools and on the teaching/learning process.

Boards of education were often perceived by teachers as distant and insensitive to actual classroom and school needs. According to teachers, boards of education need closer contact with schools. This could be achieved through needs assessments and creation of a structure which allows significant input from principals and school faculties. It is also likely that many Board directives might be better received if staff fully understood the rationale behind them. Mandates to "do" without explanations of "why" create frustrations which might be easily avoided. If staff were aware of the reason for a directive, they could provide valuable input as to whether or not a particular course of action is actually meeting its goal.

12. Further research and development are essential on the nature and causes of stressors in schools and their impact on staff and students.

This study has taken only a first step in describing and understanding stress in schools. Much further investigation is needed in many related areas, including the following:

a. Instruments and strategies must be refined and/or developed to assess the extent to which stressful conditions exist and the specific nature of these conditions. Only with further development and validation of instruments such as those begun in this project will adequate descriptions and analyses of the complexity of school, community and personal factors involved be possible.

b. The data and analyses presented in this report offer considerable potential for the development and testing of hypotheses relating to the specific causes and impact of stressors in schools. A logical next step in the study of stress would be to examine hypotheses developed from these data in similar and different school contexts in order to better understand variability and/or generalizability of these conditions and their influence.

c. Of particular importance in further work are attempts to examine linkages between stressful conditions found and the attitudes and behaviors of school personnel and others such as students, parents, etc. Of ultimate concern here are linkages to the quality of instruction provided and student learning outcomes, but it seems essential to more fully understand intermediate effects (such as on teacher decision-making processes and staff collegiality) before attempting to look at final outcomes.

d. Finally, an overall conceptual framework is necessary within which to understand the nature of interactive effects among stressors and the outcomes of those interactions. In this study the cultural universals of security, status and sociability served initially as a framework for examining outcomes. It is recognized, however, that there may be equally or more appropriate alternative frameworks for producing a complete and clear picture of stressors and their influences. The research activities and their results as derived from 12 a, b, and c above should all be considered in developing such conceptual frames.

Epilog

While findings presented here identify a wide variety of working conditions associated with dysfunctional stress and suggest further that teachers generally do not seem to employ consistent or highly successful strategies for coping with the stressors identified, these findings raise some broad issues that go beyond the specific intentions of this study.

The Condition of Urban Schools

The descriptions presented in this study are admittedly dreary, in the words of one critic, "devastating." Part of this is attributable to the research problem -- looking for working conditions related to dysfunctional stress. It must be noted that there are instances of "success" in urban education and, in many urban areas, long-standing trends of declining test scores are being reversed. That such positive reversals are taking place is not only commendable but perhaps even more worthy of respect and recognition when one understands the odds against which such successes are realized. The point is not to condemn urban education but to point out its plight and constructive ways in which the situation can be improved and further gains made in effective teaching and student learning. But the descriptions included in case study material here seem to be qualitatively different than descriptions of other workplaces and other non-urban schools. Do the constant bombardments to status, security, sociability and teaching reflect systems in disarray? Are the six urban schools studied simply reflecting the anomie and social malaise attendant to urban decay? If so, then in addition to looking at conditions related to dysfunctional stress among teachers and administrators, the gap between teacher's ideal expectations about teaching and the reality of maintaining law and order in the building should be the focus of sweeping investigation and reform, as should prevalent governing structures. Implied clearly is that more work must be done to detail the training and/or strategies of those remarkable educators who cope and work effectively in these difficult situations. Short-range remediation and solutions suggest that coping and change strategies should be identified and taught at the pre- and in-service levels to teachers and administrators. Long-range plans call for systematic restructuring and sweeping reforms for cities and their schools to combat the decay reflected in the case studies.

Finally, if one were to assume, for the purpose of speculation, that the conditions described in these six case studies are representative of large numbers of urban schools in cities experiencing increasing decay and declining resources, then dysfunctional stressors will only increase and make the school workplace more untenable. The problems then become more political and more social, and research to deal with solutions might better be couched in comparative terms: Is the dysfunctional stress level in urban schools comparable to or worse than levels in other urban institutions such as hospitals, welfare agencies, juvenile detention homes? What is the stress threshhold -- the line between creative tension in a system and dysfunctional stress? And most significantly, at what point will we as a society refuse to tolerate these conditions and subject our children to them?

On the other hand, if it is assumed that schools as workplaces can be divorced from the disease of urban decay as some institutions have been, i.e., great symphony orchestras, urban universities and banks, and even some schools (Little, Edmonds, etc.), then the questions could be focused on remediation of the stressors identified in this and other studies.

Realistically, the problems need to be approached on both levels, with remedial suggestions for the short-term and with formulation of broad research studies for the long-term approach. Neither assumption can be discounted based upon the data from this study. The conditions portrayed are alarming in and of themselves and provide sufficient reasons to investigate other urban schools and systems. Merely addressing short-term remediation has the additional stigma of neglecting the causes for undesirable conditions and for possibly perpetuating them by enabling teachers to cope with them.

The recommendations offered, therefore, suggest action for both long- and short-range concerns.

The School As a Workplace

By studying working conditions in schools, schools were necessarily viewed as workplaces -- unique workplaces by comparison to many other institutions. Schools have multiple and sometimes contradictory functions, produce few tangible and easily accessible products, exercise limited control over the selection and removal of their clientele, and are commonly organized in ways that limit adult interaction. In addition, schools include populations that cross an unusually wide range of generations. Teachers seemed inadequately prepared, and sometimes indisposed, to deal with these unique aspects and adjusting to them proved to be stressful. This implies that the unique aspects of schools as workplaces generate tensions for teachers, and as long as the unique aspects remain unanticipated and strategies for positively responding to them are neither found nor employed, they will remain as stressors to those entering and remaining in that system.

Urban schools as workplaces, because of their deteriorating conditions, may present a higher potential for stress than non-urban. It has been concluded that stress for teachers in this study was generally attributable to a lack of respect and barriers to carrying out those tasks teachers had been trained to perform. Why do teachers feel this way? It would seem that teachers found themselves in a kind of "Catch 22" situation. If they cope, if they adjust to existing conditions, they may be accepting norms of behavior and success that are contrary to their basic beliefs and expectations, i.e., unsafe school environments and neighborhoods, run-down physical surroundings, disruptive and disrespectful students, and low achieving students. However, if they attempt to employ and maintain standards different from the mainstream, ones more coincident with their original expectations for teaching performance and responsibilities, they literally may not survive. Implied is that the stress may be attributable to being forced to choose among two very undesirable alternative courses of action, neither of which gains them self respect, or respect from others, nor enables them to carry out their expected duties and tasks.

Further, the study of schools as workplaces suggests strongly that stress is not the sole property of teachers but is experienced by all school personnel -- teachers, administrators, clerical and maintenance personnel -- and by the students. There is a danger in attributing stress to one or another role group in a school, lest the individual nature of the role or person be targeted for the cause. Stress perceived by teachers was felt by many role groups and was rarely focused upon one specific working condition. Therefore, treatments for stress need to be system-based efforts, not designed solely for one or another role group.

APPENDIX

Overview of the Related Literature

The concept of stress, whether defined physiologically or psychologically, has two components: an environmental stimulus and a reaction by the individual. Selye (1956) pioneered physiological stress, defining it as the sum of all nonspecific effects of factors which can act upon the body. Holmes and Rahe (1967) conceptualized stress as the amount and duration of change in one's accustomed pattern of life resulting from various life events.

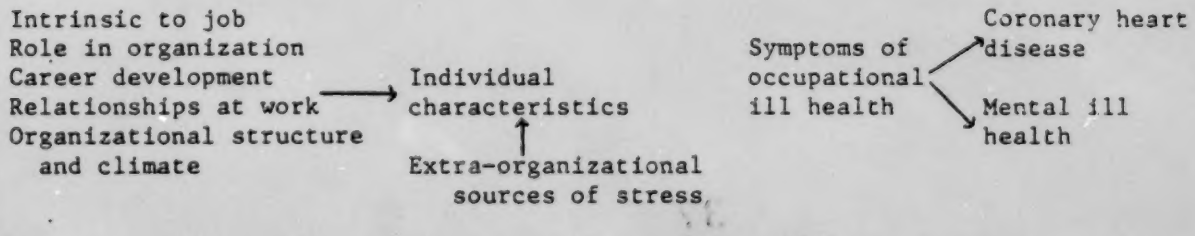
Psychological stress can be either stimulating or debilitating, but in its common usage generally connotes a negative evaluation of the stimulus impinging on the individual. McGrath (1976) defined a stressful situation as one in which a situation is perceived as leading to some undesirable state of affairs if left unmodified (or some desirable state of affairs if modified), whether the perception is accurate or not. As Selye (1956) pointed out, however, it is necessary to distinguish conceptually between the stimulus that causes the response and the response itself.

Stress is therefore defined as an individual's perception that a situation will lead to some undesirable state of affairs if unmodified or some desirable state of affairs if modified. This definition implies that the individual is called upon to mobilize coping mechanisms in order to adapt to a stimulus from the environment. A stressor is defined as the negatively perceived situation as measured by some criterion other than the reacting individual's perception.

Recent research on understanding behavior in organizations has emphasized the significance of the organization's interaction with the environment (Aldrich, 1979). Yet, much of the previous work on teacher stress has focused on teacher personality rather than on the environmental causes of stress. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1978), for example, argue that personality characteristics rather than biological characteristics of the individual (such as sex, qualification, age, length of training experience, and position held in school) may be the more important determinant of individual differences in teacher stress. Not only has this work been unfruitful in discovering any relationship between teacher personality and maladjustment (Getzels and Jackson, 1963), but it moreover has clouded the fact that teachers work in particular settings to which they must adapt. These settings may be more or less favorable and must certainly interact with any individual characteristics of teachers as a group.

The model of occupational stress developed by Cooper and Marshall (1976) incorporates both the environmental sources of stress and the individual's characteristics.

Sources of Stress at Work:



The best theoretically grounded model of occupational stress is that advanced by McGrath (1976). He viewed behavior as the interaction of three systems: 1) the physical and technological environment, 2) the social medium, or patterns of interpersonal relations, and 3) the person system or self-esteem. These three systems can be conceptualized as interacting two at a time to produce three outcomes: 1) the behavior setting, as defined by Barker (1968), which is a combination of the physical and social constraints on behavior; 2) tasks, which are the interaction of the person and the physical-technical environment; and 3) roles, the interactions of the person and the social environment.

According to McGrath, each of the three systems and each of the three interactions are a source of stress on persons in work organizations.

1. Task-based stress arises from the difficulty of the job, ambiguity about what the task involves, and work overload (or underload).

2. Role-based stress derives from conflict over what the role expectations should be, ambiguity over proper role behavior, and the number of different roles a person has to play.

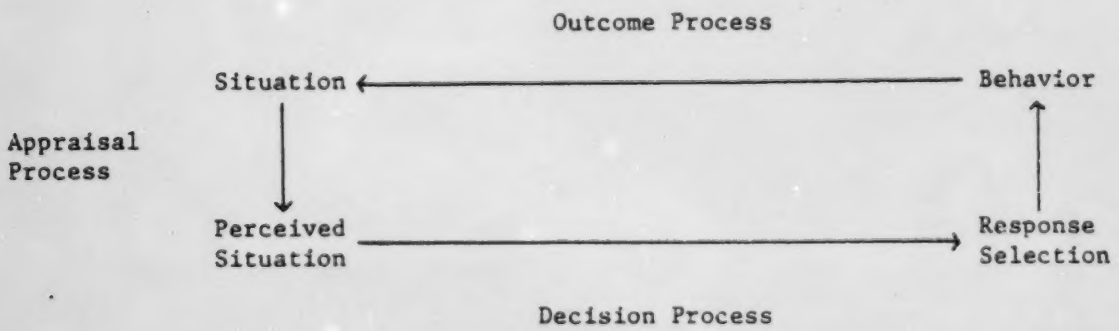
3. Stress intrinsic to behavior setting arises from the effects of crowding and having too few or too many people to perform necessary functions.

4. Stress arising from the physical environment derives from such factors as cold, hostile forces, fear of attack.

5. Interpersonal stress may derive from disagreement, lack of privacy, isolation.

6. Stress within the person is a function of such factors as anxiety and perceptual styles.

McGrath presented a four-stage, closed look cycle for the stress situation. First, a situation exists. It is perceived by the person, who makes a decision to respond in some way. The person acts on the decision and that behavior then impacts on the original situation.



Preliminary data from a study of environmental stress on over 4,000 Chicago teachers (Cichon, Koff, and Laffey, 1978) indicates that Maslow's theory of need hierarchies may best explain the link between the situation and the way the situation is perceived. Maslow (1970) proposed that human needs are hierarchically arranged, such that meeting the basic needs is prerequisite to meeting any higher order needs. In order, they are physiological needs, safety needs, needs for belongingness and love, and esteem needs. When all of these needs are satisfied, needs for self-actualization become salient. The Cichon, Koff, and Laffey study found that teachers were most stressed by teaching events associated with fear for safety and concerns about job security. These are very basic human needs, and when not fulfilled, are perceived as highly stressful. Anderson et al. (1981) examined the relationship between burnout and teacher motivation. Using Porter's adapted version of Maslow's hierarchy, they attempted to examine three stages of burnout as identified by Maslach and Jackson (1979). The three stages of burnout identified by Maslach and Jackson (1979), were:

1. Development of increased feelings of emotional exhaustion and fatigue;

2. Development of negative, cynical attitudes toward clients;

3. Development of a tendency to evaluate oneself negatively.

Anderson et al. (1981) concluded that self-actualization is the major predicator of perceived burnout. In a replication of the Chicago study conducted in Portland, Oregon, Callerton (1979) found that consistent with the Chicago study, Priority Concerns, Management Tensions, Job Performance, and Pedagogical Functions were the four factors related to teacher stress.

Occupational stress as experienced by teachers has been little studied (Dreeben, 1973; Keavney and Sinclair, 1978; Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1977; Pratt, 1978). Fortunately, there is a growing body of literature on the sources and consequences of occupational stress, in general, ranging from the stress of combat (Grinker and Spiegal, 1963) to more mundane forms of occupational stress. Cooper and Marshall (1976) abstracted a number of themse from their review of the literature:

1. Work overload is linked to stress, but the magnitude of the relationship is small. (French and Caplan, 1970; Russek and Zohman, 1958; Breslow and Buell, 1960; Quinn, Seashore, and Mangione, 1971; Porter and Lawler, 1965.)

2. Work that is too difficult is related to stress. (French, Tupper, and Mueller, 1965; Brooks and Mueller, 1966; Friedman, Rosenman, and Carroll, 1958; Dreyfuss and Czackes, 1959.)

3. French and Caplan (1973) summarize the above research by listing nine symptoms associated with quantitative and qualitative work overload: job dissatisfaction, job tension, low self-esteem, threat, embarrassment, high cholesterol levels, increased heart rate, skin resistance, and more smoking.

4. A relationship between role ambiguity and job stress was reported by Kahn, et al. (1964), French and Caplan (1970) and Margolis, et al. (1974), although correlations in the Margolis, et al. study were small.

5. Being responsible for other people is linked with stress (Pincherle, 1972; Terhune, 1963; French and Caplan, 1970).

6. Under or overpromotion may cause stress (Brook, 1973).

7. Poor human relations at work may contribute to stress (Kahn, et al., 1963; French and Caplan, 1970; Buck, 1972).

8. Participation in organizational and decision-making leads to lower staff turnover and higher productivity (Coch and French, 1948; French, Israel and As, 1960). Lack of participation is associated with stress (French and Caplan, 1970; Buck, 1973; Margolis, et al., 1974; Kasl, 1973; Quinn, et al., 1971).

9. Many studies indicate that there are individual psychological differences in predisposition to stress-related disease. (Jenkins, 1971a, b; Bakker, 1967; Finn, Hickey and O'Doherty, 1969; Lebovits, et al., 1967; Paffenbarger, Wolf and Nothin, 1966; Friedman, 1969; Rosenman, Friedman and Strauss, 1964 and 1966; Quinlan, Barrow and Hayes, 1969; Bortner and Rosenman, 1967; Zyzanski and Jenkins, 1970.)

The importance of teacher stress is indicated by the number of studies that have been devoted to it within the last few years. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1978, 1979), regarded as pioneers in the field of teacher stress, have consistently indicated that approximately 20 percent of teachers responding to questionnaires in the United Kingdom (19.9% in 1978; 23.4% in 1979) rate being a teacher as either very stressful or extremely stressful.

In a replication of the Kyriacou and Sutcliffe study, Fietler and Tokar surveyed almost 4,000 teachers in the United States and concluded that although the perceived levels of stress were higher in England, there were fewer American teachers who experienced little or no stress in teaching. More importantly, they argued that, "there is need to determine if an event rated as a high stressor endures or not, and how this affects perceived stress."

Bloch (1978), in a study of 250 teachers who had symptoms of either physical trauma and/or prolonged psychic stress, which he likened to those who have suffered from "combat neurosis," suggests that teachers can survive in stressful schools if proper procedures are initiated. These procedures include: 1) preparedness, 2) opportunity for sharing, 3) morale, and 4) crisis intervention. He further suggests that the three R's of rotation, rest, and recuperation be introduced into the school setting.

In addition, there has been some research done in areas potentially related to teacher stress. Coates and Thorenson (1976) reviewed the literature on teacher anxiety, looking particularly at sources of teacher concern. They cited seven studies of experienced teachers, six of which examined sources of major concern. Analyzing their chart of findings, it appears that work overload has been linked as much as anything to teacher anxiety. In the five studies which were not concerned solely with teacher-pupil interaction, teachers reported work overload -- including not having planning time and having to do clerical tasks -- as a source of anxiety. Lottie (1975) also found these to be sources of discontent for teachers. The other major source of anxiety which emerged from Coates and Thoreson's (1976) report was concerned with performing the role of teacher, sometimes under conditions which made high performance difficult -- meeting individual needs, balancing "no failure" policies with ensuring minimum standards, planning lessons, grading papers, and finding time for remedial work.

Other studies reported sources of "dissatisfaction" among teachers (Rudd and Wiseman, 1962), or of "bothersomeness" (Cruickshank, Kennedy and Mayers, 1973). Similarly, these studies indicate that heavy teaching loads, large classes, shortage of time and feelings of inadequacy are among the chief dissatisfactions. Motivation and control of students are seen as two of the main problems. In a recent poll conducted by Gallup for the National Education Association, of 1,000 teachers sampled, 60% identified paperwork as their number one problem. In a sample of 200 teachers in southeastern Michigan, it was reported that they were "considerably less satisfied with their jobs and their 'general quality of worklife' than the typical American worker." This dissatisfaction centered around lack of job security and mobility, inadequate teaching resources, excessive or inconvenient work hours and unpleasant classroom environment.

More recently, Oxman and Michelli (1980), in a study of teacher stress among teachers in Newark, found four factors to be related to teacher stress and morale: Administration, Community, Collegiality, and Teacher Professionalism and Support. Humphrey and Humphrey (1981) in a two-year study to identify stress-related conditions among teachers, identified five stress inducing factors. They classified these factors as: 1) general school working conditions, 2) actions of administrators, 3) actions of colleagues, 4) actions of parents, and 5) student behavior. In a study by Deduck et al. (1981), when asked to list the things they didn't like about their jobs, teachers listed: 1) paperwork, 2) administration and 3) non-teaching duties. In addition, more than half of the respondents surveyed indicated that they had considered a career change in the last two years.

Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1977) attempted to review research on teacher stress. Most of the studies, however, looked at teacher dissatisfaction or concern. Their review, which primarily examined British schools, abstracted few regularities. Teachers were found to be dissatisfied with clerical tasks and supervisory duties at school (McLaughlin and Shea, 1960; Lortie, 1975); to be dissatisfied with poor working conditions (Payne, 1974; Dunham, 1976); poor human relations (Lortie, 1975; Dunham, 1976; Rudd and Wiseman, 1962) and assorted other aspects of teaching, such as student behavior problems (Caspari, 1976; Hargreaves, 1976; Lowenstein, 1975).

In response to increasing stress levels among teachers, suggestions for reducing stress, directed toward the individual and the institution, have been offered. Miller (1979) suggests that "activities such as running, meditating, and riding a bike, or reciting psalms, when done regularly and chosen freely, can have a positive and soothing effect." In addition, he posits that one of the most effective methods is to develop a support system, that sharing the burden can be comforting. Bloch (1978) insists that "classroom teachers would have the opportunity to report directly to the school board about unfair administration, overcrowded classrooms, violence, and so forth." This would be constructive in that teachers would know that someone is listening and that needed, remedial measures may be taken. Humphrey and Humphrey (1981) offer seven suggestions that teachers might apply in dealing with stress:

1. Personal health practices should be carefully observed;

2. Self-evaluation should be continuous;

3. Learn to recognize your own accomplishments;

4. Learn to take one thing at a time;

5. Learn to take things less seriously;

6. Do things for others;

7. Talk things over with others.

In looking at pre-service training institutions, Young (1978) argues that "Colleges and universities must provide experience that will help prospective school personnel develop their humaneness. They must concern themselves with the personal growth of teaching by helping them to clarify their own needs in a manner that does not exploit the children whom they teach."

In addition to examining ways that institutions can reduce teacher stress, there has been a parallel attempt to identify and examine institutional variables which foster heightened levels of teacher stress. These findings can be summarized as follows:

1. Lack of mobility, little turnover, few new teachers, public attacks and budget reversals, bad press (Reed).

2. Lack of direct teacher involvement in decision-making, no control over the job environment, involuntary transfers, little chance to interact with other adults (Cichon, Olson and Koff; Newell; Reed).

3. Long hours, lack of supplies, too much paperwork, large classes and no planning time (Sullivan; Coates and Thorenson; Feshbach and Campbell).

4. Discipline and management of disruptive children; threats of violence; assaults on colleagues and verbal abuse (Cichon; Cichon and Koff, Coates and Thorenson; Feshbach and Campbell).

5. Muzzling teachers after a violent incident; teacher discouraged from talking about or reporting stressful incident, principal harrassment, transfer denied (Bloch).

6. Stress related to doing a good job; maintaining self-control when angry, and teaching below-average students (Koff and Cichon).

A small amount of work has been done on the principal's leadership style and teacher satisfaction. Muth (1973) found that teachers in the Chicago area perceived principals to use ascribed authority rather than coercion or influence and found that use of authority was not related to teachers' experience of conflict between themselves and their principals. McCarrey (1965) found that teachers who were high in need of independence and/or who were low in tolerance of authoritarianism were more satisfied in a school which used participative decision-making. Ponder and Mayshark (1974) studied schools with open and closed climates as defined by the Halpin and Crofts (1963) Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire. Teachers in the closed climate school took significantly more days of sick leave, suggesting the possibility that teachers in closed climate schools experienced more stress-induced illness. Young (1978) concluded that administrative support would help reduce the frustrations that give rise to high anxiety levels, that periods of stress could be prevented by perceptive principals utilizing the help of concerned members of the school setting.

Gmelch (1978) argues that in order for principals to be effective at reducing stress they must first be re-educated. He reasons, "In assisting people to accept and carry out the challenge of education, principals must accept the responsibility for minimizing the incidents of stress on others and training them to cope with the tensions of the job."

Miller (1981) concludes that "administrative behavior is a highly important factor in facilitating good staff morale." One practice that Miller suggests administrators follow is to "praise and give credit to teachers when it is warranted."

In attempting to determine how supervisors can reduce stress, Goens and Kuciejczyk suggest that administrators should provide support, leadership, and quality feedback for teacher concerns.

In a survey of its readership, Instructor magazine (Landsmann, 1978) found that 75% of respondents said their sick days were related to stress or tension. Sources of reported stress were many, including physical safety, the physical environment, lack of teaching materials, discipline problems, public pressure on teachers, too many students in a class, schedules that do not allow for breaks and lack of preparation or in-service training for new programs. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1979) reported that in response to

218 teacher questionnaires, the association between total days absent and self-reported teacher stress was positive. In addition, they found a negative association between self-reported stress and job satisfaction, and a positive association with intention to leave teaching. Pratt (1978) also found a positive association between amount of stress and recorded illness.

Two major studies have investigated teacher survival and migration which may be related to teacher stress. These studies (Charters, 1977 and Pederson, 1969) both found that age and sex were the major variables predictive of turnover and that organizational variables were secondary. Neither of these studies, however, carefully investigated job conditions which might contribute to stress.

Crime in the schools is emerging as a major potential source of teacher stress, although its impact on teachers has not yet received much attention. NIE's Safe School Study (1978) found that 5,200 of the nation's teachers are physically attacked at school in a month's time. Nearly one-fifth of the attacks required medical treatment. NIE found a relationship between class size and teacher victimization. The higher the average number of students in classes, the higher was the teacher's risk of being attacked and robbed. The study also reported that teachers with high proportions of low-ability students, underachievers, behavior problems, and minority students were more likely to be victims. Teachers who had been victimized were more likely to assess their schools and students negatively, and NIE believed that these negative assessments probably reflected reality.

An interesting study by Pratt (1978) underscores the need for understanding environmental sources of stress. It involved a survey of 124 primary school teachers of Great Britain and found that stress arose from five main areas: a general inability to cope with teaching problems, non-cooperative children, aggressive children, concern for children's learning, and staff relations. The data from this investigation showed that home background of the children taught was a major and pervasive influence in creating stress among teachers. A great deal of stress was caused through dealing with children from areas where there were a relatively large number of financially deprived homes. In addition, Pratt found an increase in non-cooperation and aggression as children grow older in these poor areas.

SCHOOLS AS A WORKPLACE: THE REALITIES OF STRESS

VOLUME II

SCHOOL SITE CASE STUDIES

AND

THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL

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A Note to Readers

The total report on the study "Schools as a Workplace: The Realities of Stress" comprises three volumes. Volume I includes an introduction to the reasons for and procedures used in the study, a brief literature review, a description and analysis of stressful conditions in the schools studied, conclusions regarding the significance of the findings, and a set of recommendations for educational policy-makers and practitioners concerned with reducing stressful conditions.

Volume II includes the full case studies of each of the six schools studied and a report on the indepth interviews with each of the six principals of these schools. Volume III contains a much more detailed discussion of the methodologies used as well as the actual instruments which were developed or revised to aid in data collection.

While Volume I is seen as an overview document and perhaps of most direct applicability and interest to policy-makers and practitioners, readers are encouraged to examine all three volumes in order to gain more complete information and insights on the procedures and findings of the study.

VOLUME II

Table of Contents

Case Study: School #1, Elementary 1

Cosmology 1
Governance. 3
Economics 6
Technology. 8
Socialization Process 9
Values. 9
Social Organization 11
Language. 12
Stressors, School #1. 13

Security. 13
Governance/Leadership 13
Budget Cuts 14
Staff Relations 15

TESI Data, School #1. 15

Case Study: School #2, Middle 21

Cosmology 21
Governance. 22
Economics 24
Technology. 25
Socialization Process 26
Values. 27
Social Organization 27
Language. 29
Stressors, School #2. 30

Security. 30
Budget Cuts 30
Governance/Leadership 31
Staff Relations 31

TESI Data, School #2. 32

Case Study: School #3, Secondary. 35

Cosmology 35
Governance. 37
Economics 38
Technology. 40
Socialization Process 41
Values. 42
Social Organization 43
Language. 43

Table of Contents

Stressors, School #3. 44

Governance. 44
Budget Cuts 45
Student Issues. 45

TESI Data, School #3. 45

Case Study: School #4, Elementary 51

Cosmology 51
Governance. 53
Economics 55
Technology. 57
Socialization Process 58
Values. 58
Social Organization 59
Language 60
Stressors, School #4. 60

Governance/Leadership 60
Security. 62
Budget Cuts 62

TESI Data, School #4 62

Case Study: School #5, Upper Grade Center 67

Cosmology 67
Governance. 69
Economics 71
Technology. 72
Socialization Process 72
Values 73
Social Organization 73
Language. 74
Stressors, School #5. 75

Staff Relations 75
Governance. 75
Budget Issues 76
Security. 76

TESI Data, School #5. 76

Case Study: School #6, Secondary. 81

Cosmology 81
Governance. 82
Economics 85
Technology. 86

Table of Contents

Socialization process 87
Values 88
Social Organization 88
Language. 89
Stressors, School #6. 89

Student Issues 89
Security. 90
Governance 90
Budget-Related Problems 91
Parent Issues 91

TESI Data, School #6 91

Report of Interviews with Principals 97

Elementary School #1. 97
Junior High School #2 99
High School #3. 102
Elementary School #4. 105
Junior High School #5 108
High School #6 111

Analysis of Principal Behavior 117

Case Study
School #1 - Elementary

Cosmology

School #1, an elementary school built in 1959, has four floors, with capacity listed as 1,163. The enrollment, presently at 468, is largely minority, with a racial breakdown of 60% Hispanic, 30% black, 7% white and 3% other. Annually, attendance at the school is 89.6%. The school houses a regular K-6 program, a "readiness" program, an Educationally Handicapped program, and a magnet program for 7th grade in environmental science. In addition, a school-based support team is on-site, supervised by the city's Committee on the Handicapped.

The school is located on the border between a high-rent district and a predominantly Hispanic low-income area. The surrounding neighborhoods contain a methadone clinic in one direction and expensive high-rise buildings in another. The school physical plant is in good condition relative to other similarly aged structures. The school is located next to several playgrounds, some of which are posted as being off limits to outsiders during school hours. The playgrounds and surrounding fences are in poor condition. Two adjacent streets are major thoroughfares for trucks and buses.

The faculty numbers twenty-eight, and the racial composition of the faculty is 93% white, 3% black, and 4% Hispanic. Twenty-one of the teachers in this school are female, while fifteen are married. No teachers at the school are 21-30 years of age, while 36% are 31-40, 39% are 51-50, and 25% are 51-70. There have been no assaults on staff during the past year and no grievances were filed with the Union.

Teachers and parents perceive the neighborhood to be dangerous and protect themselves and the students accordingly. Teachers talk about security as a major area which needs change and see large amounts of graffiti as adding to a norm of "dirt and disorder." Many parents walk their children to and from the building. According to the principal, many parents keep their children at home after school, because of the neighborhood, except during the summer. In addition, several parents stay at the school throughout the day in a room provided for parents, where they can watch television, relax and cook lunch. Each day of field visitations, between 5 and 10 parents stayed at the school all day.

The adjacent play areas and playgrounds have a number of gates which provide easy access to outsiders. These areas are utilized by students prior to entering school and during gym classes and lunch hours. Although signs are posted restricting entry of all but school personnel when classes are in session, the signs are not readily visible and many neighborhood adults frequent the parks. Some of these adults were described by the PTA president as pimps, prostitutes, and drug addicts. While police do not enforce the signs, PTA members have tried to get the police to do something

about drugs and prostituion in the adjacent park. During an outdoor gym class, thirteen adults walked through the playground to the street, ignoring and interrupting a kick ball game. The PTA president reported during the last round of observations that the park had been cleared out. However, another parent attributed the change to cold weather.

Teachers complained about school safety and classroom interruptions. One teacher said that she has students walk her to the street to get a cab. The principal felt that the school was "fairly secure, but right on the dividing line." Entry by outsiders was possible, as the new female "security aide" was rarely at her post. During all the days of observations, field researchers were questioned only once upon entrance, and project central staff were never challenged. While a new sign was found posted at the main entrance during the last round of observations asking parents (in Spanish and English) to check in at the office, many outsiders entered through the other doors.

Teachers were also reminded of the safety problems of the neighborhood from administrative decrees. At a faculty meeting, the principal announced that teachers must plan a class in arson and fire safety once each month, due to Board regulations.

Classroom interruptions were witnessed continually during observations. During one forty-five minute classroom observation, for example, ten adults walked in and out of the class.

Teachers spoke about parents in mixed terms -- described by some as welcome, by others as interfering, apathetic, or having "power over the principal." Parents did volunteer to patrol the halls and cover the security desk. They raised funds for textbooks and special events, bought teachers a coffee urn, and this year, supplemented by $1,000 the school's $57.50 budget for supplies. Though teachers were advised of this latter activity by the principal, many were unaware of the monetary contributions. Indeed, parent-teacher communication seemed lacking, likely due in part to the low esteem held by many teachers of parents in general. Several staff members pointed out that parents add to the students' problems through their own abuse of drugs, alcohol, prostitution and child abuse.

Enrollment has declined at the school over the past few years due in part to many white parents requesting transfers for their children to a neighboring district where they felt the school superior. To increase enrollment levels in the school, other programs were incorporated to utilize the space generated by the decrease. These included the Reading Readiness, Emotionally Handicapped and Science Academy program.

The regular program teaching staff has remained stable over the years. The last transfer was over ten years ago. All of the newer program teachers in the school are viewed by the regular faculty as "non-staff." One teacher described newcomers as "pulling apart" the faculty. The union representative was quite upset with the so-called non-staff persons for using the refrigerator. "It belongs to us!" he said, "I don't care if we use it or not . . . it's ours!" Even the principal refers to his staff as "the Regular staff," and

newer teachers as "the Readiness staff" and "the Science Academy staff." The various program faculties, because of scheduling differences, have little opportunity to interact.

The main negative outside force perceived by teachers here is the central Board of Education. The word "Board" is rarely used, but "they" are the ones who send in incorrect computer printouts, require duplicate information from one week to the next, send out new forms after the old ones were already submitted, and demand that all rollbooks be sent on three hours' notice after Board personnel have misplaced their own records. Such perceptions are reinforced by the principal, who reminds people publicly and privately that the Board has been unable to provide the school with a secretary for over a year; that principals must participate in activities of questionable usefulness for public relations purposes; that school personnel must participate in special education activities that are viewed skeptically; that substitutes may be being hired to bypass union regulations; that the meager sum made available for supplies ($57.50) must be expended on existing Board stock. Commented the principal to a teacher, "It is confusing, but there's nothing I can do about it, that's the Board's system."

The city superintendent is perceived here as a politician and businessman. The district superintendent and his staff, the community board and federal and state regulatory bodies are viewed as a part of the ominous "they" who affect the teachers. As a union resource person explained, "the only time they're (teachers) in control is when the door is shut." Teachers believe these outside forces reduce the precious little time they have to teach.

Finally, a hostile relationship exists between custodial staff and other school personnel. The citywide system of providing the custodial staff with a separate budget deprives the principal of authority over the custodians' actions. While observations revealed few evident maintenance problems, teachers were joined by parents in their poor assessment of custodial service.

Governance

Organizationally, School #1 is complex because one-fourth of the teachers and staff are not under the principal's supervision. Special education teachers report directly to the Central Board of Education, the seventh grade Academy reports to the Community Board and the support team is supervised by the city's Committee on the Handicapped. In addition to these organizational complications, teachers often criticized the principal's style as lacking forceful leadership. The principal commented that, "anything that happens in this building is mine," yet he did not require the Readiness or Science Academy teachers to attend faculty meetings. To these staffs the principal stated, "If you like, you can join our conferences, or you can run your own conferences." When questioned on this subject, the principal simply replied, "It is my building and I have the right to do anything I want. . . but I don't supervise them."

The principal took on his present position amidst much community support, replacing a person who was generally disliked. Most teachers viewed the

principal as supportive, although there were some dissenters. One teacher commented, "I have a good rapport with him -- anything I want, I can do. If your reputation is good, that's always true. He isn't verbal, but he is real supportive." Another teacher said, "he's real supportive and doesn't harass the teachers." Several teachers described how the principal contributes his own money to supplement the teachers' fund for the yearly "welcome back breakfast." In contrast, one teacher explained why the principal is not a good administrator: "Women relate to him like a father, rather than as a professional. This is destructive to women. He shouldn't meet them on a personal level. . . (also) he does not look ahead enough. We can't get him focused. Things don't reach his consciousness until it's critical." Another called for more "structure and follow-through from the principal," while still another called for "a more rigid disciplinary code." In addition, a number of teachers felt that parents have too much control over the principal, that there is too much involvement "from those in the parental room."

Governance in this school may be made more difficult by the fact that there are no assistant principals assigned (formerly there were two), and the school has been without a secretary for over a year (a part-time person was eventually assigned). Thus, the principal took upon himself many administrative and clerical duties which normally could have been delegated. The principal did appoint two teachers to assist him (for no compensation) with supervisory duties -- the union representative and reading lab teacher. This arrangement of informal appointments caused some antagonism among the staff. For example, one teacher commented how these two teachers may have "delegated themselves" into positions of power and that they are really "only teachers" like everyone else.

Although the principal perceives decision-making as a formal process, decisions were usually reached informally, through personal conversations rather than formal meetings. Teachers had only vague impressions of how administrative decisions were made or what the school policies were. One teacher explained that "leadership is loose and personal and unstructured." Faculty ignored much of the information that the principal passed along. For example, during a faculty meeting, teachers talked among themselves while the principal spoke. Thus, some information presented at the meeting was unknown to most of the staff after the meeting, such as the amount of money donated to the school for supplies by the PTA. In addition, the principal made long announcements over the public address system in the morning that some teachers reported they either ignored or could not understand. One teacher commented that she "could never understand any of the announcements except the weather."

Other examples of the principal's behavior and his approach to decision-making highlight the problems and inequities which concerned teachers. When questioned by a teacher why Readiness staff were not required to attend faculty meetings, the principal explained that the Readiness staff had planned their own schedules and responded, "there was nothing I could do." On the first day that teachers returned to school in the fall, several regular teachers were asked to move their rooms, apparently to accommodate the new Academy programs. This problem for the affected teachers could have been eased if the

principal had anticipated the conflicts during the previous spring. Also on the first day the teachers returned, class schedules were not completed, as the principal said he had been "working with the district on them." Yet, other schools in the district had them on time, the possibility arising that the principal was again at fault. Thus, the principal's lack of perceived forcefulness and inability to anticipate problems and potential areas of concern undermined teachers' confidence in his leadership ability.

In spite of the above criticisms, many teachers respected the principal for other qualities. He valued teacher input and teachers' abilities to make decisions and gave teachers some voice in selection of materials and "anything that has to do with children in the school." A number of teachers were very favorable about the "open door humanistic philosophy of the principal" and the "cooperative and realistic principal." One said that, "the individual is given great consideration here. . .the school is unique in this regard." The principal even went out of his way at each year's end to send a personal letter to each teacher expressing thanks to him or her for various accomplishments of the year.

In addition to the principal's role in the school, the role of forces outside the school, specifically the district office and Board of Education, were primary contributors to negative feelings about the governing structure. The lack of a school secretary, as previously described, was attributed by many to the district office and Board of Education. According to many teachers, solutions to the problems associated with large numbers of students (greater than 35) assigned to various classrooms, such as the use of "bridge classes," were not employed because "the District" was against them. The district was also cited for failing to provide any supply money or substitute teaching positions for the month of September. Further, in an announcement, the principal instructed teachers to hand in roll books for the district which the union representative believed was a means to account for numbers of pupils and eliminate more positions.

Similarly, the Board of Education was described as "inept, inconsistent and unsupportive." Most teachers felt that they were given meager supplies and little support for students. Too much paperwork was cited as a problem caused by the Board, most of which was seen as useless and ignored. Commented one teacher, "Being an old experienced teacher, I don't do it." Said another, "I have a transportation form to fill out and I don't even understand the directions!" One teacher described frustrations about the Board this way: "Rumors, we hear rumors, the best things about the Board are rumors. They constantly change their structure. You don't know who you're talking to, who is the boss. A guy just comes in and says, 'I'm your Regional Coordinator'." Still another teacher explained that the Board rewards failure. "It is built on a deficit model -- when something fails, they send help. Good teachers don't teach others as a matter of course, so teachers equate help when it's sent with failure."

An especially frustrating issue involving the Board early in the school year was a new test required to license all special education teachers. Long time teachers, as well as recent college graduates, would have to take the exam, at a cost of $50 each. Eventually, a grandfather clause was obtained protecting practicing teachers, but comments about the Board concerning

this issue were very negative. Even the principal criticized the Board in School #1, about their new School Improvement Program, the fact that appointments were not clearly designated as permanent or temporary, and the threats of cutting back on support staff like teacher aides. One teacher summarized all these feelings in saying, "Teachers are demoralized. The Board of Education is anti-teacher."

A final aspect of school governance previously discussed is related to both the principal's style and the system's organizational structure. The custodians have their own union and do not report to the principal of the school. The head custodian has his own budget, and the custodians are largely responsible only to themselves. Teachers complained at faculty meetings about poor performance by the custodian and inability to get keys for rooms. The principal responded, "I tell (him) about this, and he says they are doing their job. . .custodians are a very powerful group and they protect each other." The principal said that the custodians do not work as hard as they should. Much of the criticism may be derived from problems inherent in the system which allow custodians great independence or from the inability of the principal to get the custodians to follow his instructions.

Economics

School #1 has been beset with drastic enrollment declines during the recent past. To avoid the possibility of closing the facility, various programs have been added to the regular K-6 school. Thus, the Readiness program and the 7th Grade Academy are economically essential to the school's continued functioning. In addition, jobs are related to enrollment. The principal explained that the number of teachers allotted each year depends on student preregistration for the fall. Often parents forget to preregister. Therefore, all teachers with temporary substitute licenses get notices of non-renewal of contract each year. Licensing tests have not been given for years, so teachers have been unable to change their status. This process results in notices of transfer or excessing being sent out in September, leaving teachers who are not rehired little time to search for other jobs.

Teachers complained that they used to have student teachers, but "now there are no jobs for them, so we get fewer." In the Readiness program, aides have been lost. One teacher explained the effects of this, "paraprofessionals are supposed to rotate, few show up. Those that do don't develop personal relationships with the kids." The Board doesn't allow those who leave their positions to be replaced, so it is expected that the situation will get worse. At the same time, teachers are required to do more than was previously expected. One teacher said, "I have been forced to take more students than my contract specifies, which makes me feel that the contract is useless."

A severe scarcity of materials and insufficient services pervades the faculty. In terms of materials, teachers are aware that the Board supplies only a minimal amount of money. The effects of this are obvious to teachers when they remark that students' names must be sent to the principal on scraps of paper, because proper forms are in insufficient supply. Inadequate mainten-

ance and repairs are demonstrated by large sections of ripped up tile on the student cafeteria floor; by large holes in the concrete of the playground; and by a leaky auditorium roof which left it unuseable for a period of time. Poor delivery of custodial services was especially upsetting to teachers. At a faculty meeting, one teacher commented, "We share the outrage toward the people who should be cleaning this place. . .there's no excuse for the condition of the building. I opened up my door and there was a nest of roaches." Another teacher said, "I saw (in the bathroom) four pieces of visible garbage that remained for days. The custodians are not on a schedule." A third teacher complained, "A child got sick; it was reported; everybody said it wasn't their job. It was there for 24 hours." The PTA president also complained about poor cleaning of the building. These thoughts are summarized by one teacher, after noticing no toilet paper in the bathroom, who commented, "Dammit, it's disgraceful!"

Lack of secretarial and security services added to the sense of scarcity in the school. Many times the principal had to answer the school phone, and aides were responsible for handing out supplies and registering students because no secretaries were available to perform these functions. Although there was one half-time and one part-time temporary secretary in place during the final round of observations, this arrangement was very confusing to the faculty. Few teachers knew if secretaries were permanent or the exact schedules of these new employees. In terms of security, the constant lack of availability of security personnel, and the ineffectual security system, added to teacher frustration.

The sense of scarcity espoused by faculty and staff must be placed in context of observed behavior and circumstances in the school. There are large supply rooms in the school's basement with texts and supplies neatly arranged. The principal keeps close track of ordering and of incoming supplies, and orders very early each year to assure arrival of supplies for the following year. Many shelves of books, construction paper and other materials were observed, although items such as scissors, tape and the like were scarce. In sum, the school was relatively well equipped with supplies, with a great deal more available than at another school in the district which we observed.

Similarly, though many teachers complained of lack of storage space for lunches, observers periodically checked the refrigerator in the teachers' lunchroom and found it nearly empty. Field researchers, in spite of pervasive complaints about the custodial staff, observed the school to be relatively clean. In addition, the teacher resource center has a coffee pot which is always on with coffee available for a nominal fee. This resource center, an outside funded project, has many materials which teachers can take -- boxes of bottle caps, styrofoam egg cartons, etc. A refrigerator in this room was often used by faculty.

The reasons for this conflict between teacher reports and observations of the prevailing circumstances are unclear. One possible explanation may be that since the regular faculty in the school are all experienced and have been in the system for a long period of time, they relate the present situation to a more bountiful past (in terms of supplies, equipment, etc.).

Clearly, School #1 and the entire system have undergone great changes in recent years. Another explanation may be that lack of responsiveness of custodial and maintenance personnel, rather than the condition of the building, may be the central concern. Whatever the explanation of differences between observations and teacher comments, the sense of scarcity which teachers reported is of vital concern to staff in this school.

The complex picture of economics in School #1 has one additional component. Certain programs in the school (Readiness, labs, special education, bilingual) have more equipment, and equipment that is in far better condition, that the equipment assigned to regular teachers. Readiness teachers and lab teachers have teacher's aides -- regular teachers do not. Readiness teachers have time off to attend meetings, have smaller classes and more sick leave. Certain regular teachers resent these perceived advantages. (This may also explain the sense of scarcity discussed above.) The animosity, however, exists in both staffs. The Readiness supervisor seems to look negatively at regular teachers because she thinks they do not know how to handle students with special problems -- certainly not the way her Readiness teachers do. This same supervisor mentioned that her teachers work harder than regular teachers. She claims, for example, that regular teachers have time to sit around in the teachers' lounge. The field researchers, however, carefully observed both staffs and concluded that Readiness teachers often have more free time than regular teachers. The key point is that teachers are pitted against one another; some are jealous of others' perceived advantages, whether real or not.

Technology

The school has reading and math labs, a Readiness program, a seventh grade Science Academy and a small bilingual program. The school has a public address system which the principal uses every morning. Each classroom has a sink with a water fountain, blackboards mounted on the wall, bulletin boards on the opposite wall, a pencil sharpener and an American flag. Desks are not bolted down. AV equipment is available for use. Kindergarten rooms have toilets and extra equipment and supplies. The school gym has very little equipment, so students do calisthenics on the concrete.

The reading and math labs, which call for released time for students from regular classes, have caused teachers some problems. Said one teacher, "It drives me nuts. There's a constant knocking on the door." Complained another teacher, "It's like a revolving door around here. I must leave out some lessons I used to teach and no longer have time because the labs cut into instruction time." Teachers also were concerned about the effects of mixing programs in the school. A Readiness teacher described how older students bothered the preschool special education pupils. Several teachers complained about the new mainstreaming rule. One explained that having "disturbed kids in the classroom" has caused her much stress. She went on, "they have to commit murder before anyone does anything." Another teacher explained that it was getting harder to control students. "My main teaching technique is screaming."

Socialization Process

Bulletin boards throughout the school were used to pass along necessary information to students, teachers and parents. Although most of the parents read only Spanish, signs were written primarily in English. During the final round of observations, a new sign had been placed at the school entrance in Spanish and English, requesting parents to sign in and get a pass before going to classes or to wait for children in the yard. It was observed, however, that most parents either ignored the sign or entered through other doors.

The regular faculty are all experienced, as no teachers fall within the 21-30 age bracket. One of the newer teachers -- in this school for 7 years -- said that she still was treated as inexperienced by her colleagues, who reminded her they have been teaching longer and therefore know better than she. The teachers rarely met in large groups except for faculty meetings, as small groups of two or three teachers ate together or dined alone in their rooms. The atmosphere of the school was depicted by teachers as friendly and relaxed. Teachers who utilize the Resource Room during open periods were observed to relax by reading or sitting by themselves or by doing paperwork. The norms of the system were known by virtue of the long experience of the regular faculty.

Regular teachers were all brought together at a number of faculty meetings throughout the year. In the fall, at the first faculty conference, the principal introduced each of the teachers in the 7th Grade Academy to the regular faculty. The Academy teachers were informed that they were welcome to attend these conferences, but were not required to attend. The principal also announced with a shrug that the Readiness staff had scheduled their meeting at the same time, and therefore would not be attending. Add to this fact that the Academy and Readiness programs have different schedules than the regular faculty, that the Academy is a magnet program, and that regular teachers' rooms were displaced to accommodate new programs; the result is a continual reinforcement of separation and higher status for the new programs. The regular staff feels threatened and distant from these newly arrived faculty, who even dress differently -- more casually -- than other teachers. One teacher commented, several months after the school year had begun, that the special program teachers "should wear nametags to identify themselves."

Values

The value of parental involvement is controversial in the school. Most teachers agree that some involvement would be good, but that parents of students are poor role models. Teachers commented that parents keep children at home for "no reason." The principal described parents using children to accompany them to welfare because they could not speak English, or some parents who keep them home saying that the children have asthma. The Readiness Director said "one-third of parents have as much or more difficulty facing the world as do their kids. They are drug addicts, alcoholics and child abusers. We can't take these as clean-slate kids. You don't send a note home that Johnnie misbehaved -- he would come back black and blue."

One teacher was threatened by a parent. Another teacher commented, "Mondays are the worst -- the kids may not have eaten or slept well."

At the same time that teachers complain that parents and the community do not care about education, set poor models for children and serve as obstructions to teachers (from apathy to physical assault on teachers), faculty also complain about the parents who are trying to be involved. These parents who hang around the school do help the aides, raise money for school purposes, work with police to clean the park and have helped to get signs installed in the playground area. But mothers enter classrooms unannounced, gather in the parents' room and many of their contributions are not well communicated to faculty. As a result, interview responses often described parents as hinderances.

Many regular teachers did not regard the teachers in other programs as members of the schools' staff. When asked how new teachers were socialized, several regular teachers responded, "We haven't had a new teacher here in years." Yet, the special programs had only recently been instituted in the school.

Several teachers, teachers' aides and parents mentioned that they would like the principal to have more "oomph" as a leader -- to make decisions, set policy and enforce it. They see his easy-going democratic ways as weaknesses. One teacher explained that the principal heeds "whoever got his ear last" in making decisions. The principal is aware of this attitude toward his style of leadership. Yet, he sees his role as a facilitator, mediating the various forces that impinge on teachers and undermine their effectivenss. Most of the faculty recognize and value this quality -- his supportiveness, his respect for them as professionals and his ability to diffuse difficult situations. But many of those same faculty add that he could be a bit more forceful.

A key value for teachers in School #1 is that they feel they should be treated as professionals. This comes across in several ways. The union resource person suggested that this research be described as studying "teaching stress, not teacher stress." She explained that "teachers are threatened by the idea that they are burned out . . . (they) see stress as something wrong with them, not with the institution." Similarly, teachers were observed to value a classroom in which they are in control, where their power is unquestioned. Control and order in the hallways is attempted by regular teachers. Teachers in this school value their turf; they do not like newcomers or outsiders invading their territory. One teacher had a sign on her door that said in order to enter, a pass from the principal was required. The teachers do not like unannounced interruptions by parents or others, and regular teachers were very upset with having to move for classes in special programs. In addition, teachers complained about lack of support and respect from the media, parents and especially the Board, while they commented favorably about certain aspects of the principal's style which insured their autonomy and independence.

Concerning television, the printed media and the reactions of other sectors of society to them, the teachers indicated the belief that views held were inaccurate and unfair. One teacher clearly described this attitude:

"So many things are impinging on teachers. Teachers are an easy mark. Snide remarks all the time . . . The public wouldn't criticize a doctor or a lawyer the way it criticizes teachers. It's demeaning; the profession doesn't deserve that. Teacher militancy has a lot to do with it. It's hard for us to deal with anti-semitism and racism."

Student work is highly valued and displayed on bulletin boards throughout the school. The principal proudly proclaimed that although reading scores aren't all that important, the school has "maintained reading levels over ten years or more even though the population has changed drastically." Teachers did report that reading was required and taught in all subject areas.

Teachers want their school to be clean. They were disturbed by graffiti on school walls which proliferated this year. Complaints about the janitorial staff and its shortcomings, in spite of the fact that the school is relatively clean, highlight this value. Several teachers blamed the newly arrived 7th grade program for the more widespread graffiti this year.

Social Organization

The social organization in the school is broken down by program, divided into regular teachers, Readiness teachers and seventh grade Academy teachers. The Readiness program is physically separated from the regular faculty and is primarily located in the basement. They use the staff lunchroom, which the regular teachers no longer use. They were observed to have very little interaction with regular teachers. Relationships between staffs were termed as "cordial," though as described, jealousies did exist. The Readiness Director had these words:

"Some Readiness teachers feel there are attitudes of other teachers -- they see our teachers have fewer kids, have paraprofessionals, are not required to go to the principal's monthly meetings, go out for medical meetings, have better equipment. But our teachers go to the others' parties; they have been told they must be a part of the school. Our teachers invite the others into classrooms if they criticize, so they see why our teachers can go home and go to bed if they need."

Academy faculty are located together on the second floor and have a bit more interaction with the regular teachers. Specifically, the upper grade teachers and Reading lab teacher interacted with them on several occasions in the Academy office or Resource Room. The Academy faculty appeared to dress more casually than regular teachers. For the most part, interaction between programs was minimal. Each group holds its own staff meetings.

Until last year, when the Resource Room was established, the school was described as having no social interaction for quite some time. The union representative explained, "the faculty keeps pretty much to themselves." Two or three teachers might eat together, but beyond that there was little

activity. With the arrival of a resource person and opening of the Resource Room, there is a place which more teachers utilize to sit, talk, read or work. As one teacher put it, "until she came, no one spoke to one another."

A considerable schism seems to exist between parents and teachers generally. Faculty complain about poor parent involvement, and some are skeptical of those who are active. Some parents seem to have negative feelings about individual teachers, while some teachers have stereotyped images of parents who are culturally different from themselves.

During the final round of observations, regular teachers were observed to congregate on the basis of sex and grade level more than before. Though friendships between levels were still observed, fifth and sixth grade teachers are primarily males, and they tended to stay togehter. It was also discovered that some teachers feel there is more prestige in teaching upper than lower grades, because the students "are more of a challenge, more of a discipline problem."

In the regular staff, divisions are formally made along grade level lines -- there are no departments. Among the regular teachers, several actors are significant. The union representative is respected, as he often speaks out on injustices against teachers and freely speaks during meetings and to the principal. He is respected as a voice for the plight of teachers. He also takes charge of logistics such as ordering films, managing AV equipment and organizing various work committees. The resource center teacher organizes social events and provides materials and ideas in response to teacher requests. She also provides in-service training around teachers' interests. Both the union representative and Reading Lab teacher act as quasi assistant principals and do a lot for the principal.

Low person in the hierarchy of the school may be the gym teacher who defined his job this way: "The teachers get their free periods by leaving their kids with me." Ohter teachers all have their own rooms, while the gym teacher is sometimes, and it seems unpredictably, displaced from the gym by special education and other programs. One day he explained, "I'll be taking the class outside today. I have a conflict in the gym, the CEH class wants to use it."

Language

There is a great deal of Spanish spoken at the school, mostly by parents. Students were observed to use Spanish in classrooms very rarely. Teachers explained in interviews that they believe students should learn "proper" mainstream English. Although this school encompasses a largely Hispanic community, only a few signs in the building had Spanish translations. English is emphasized. The PTA president said that most of her parents do not speak English and meetings are conducted entirely in Spanish, except when the principal speaks (he claims not to speak Spanish but to understand it). Of the documents analyzed, only one, the seventh grade Academy brochure, had a Spanish translation. This is ironic in that the Academy students are not from the local Spanish neighborhood as it is a magnet program. Teachers

emphasize good language with proper tone and volume, epitomized by often observed correction of students saying "good morning" and "good afternoon."

The word "they" was generally used by teachers to refer to the Board of Education. Regular teachers talked about "the staff" or "the regular staff," referring only to the K-6 teachers, not special program faculties who recently came to the school.

Regular students were not observed to use obscenities. Seventh grade students were accused of using this kind of language. All teachers refer to the principal as Mr. _____.

Stressors - School #1

In terms of specific conditions in the school related to teacher stress, four categories -- not mutually exclusive -- were identified in the case study.

Security

This refers to both personal safety and job security. In this school, personal safety was the more dominant stressor, probably related to the fact that the faculty have many years of experience and feel somewhat secure in their jobs. No teachers at this school, for example, are less than thirty-years-old. Teachers did discuss at length the dangerous neighborhood, the problems with closing off the playground to unwanted intruders, and the need teachers expressed for protection in and around the school. They referred to fears of assault and fears of intrusion by unauthorized people. The continual reference to many local people as pimps, prostitutes or drug addicts underlied this fear. Classroom interruptions were cited as unnerving, as were the lack of any effective security personnel or security measures to stem the threat from easy access to the school. Forthcoming cutbacks that will probably further inhibit security expenditures bothered teachers.

Governance/Leadership

Problems with governance affecting teacher stress were derived from three different sources. Teachers were very disturbed with higher levels of administration, the central board of education and district administration. Teachers complained about excessive amounts of unnecessary paperwork, top-down orders without their input and overall inept and inconsistent administration. Teachers felt powerless to resist what they perceived as unreasonable demands on their time -- a precious commodity. The uncertainty and lack of control over their situation diminished their ability to organize their work environment. The unwillingness of authorities to use bridge classes as a technique to lower class size was frustrating.

A second area that concerned teachers was the custodial service in the school. Custodians are not responsible to any individual on site, and teachers were unhappy with the service rendered in this school.

Finally, another prominent area of concern related to the principal. While he was generally liked by faculty in School #1, his lack of forceful leadership, his informal and unknown method for decision-making, the apparent control teachers believed that parents have over the principal, all added to problems in the school. Teachers were upset with having to move rooms for new program teachers, when it was sensed that earlier action by the principal could have avoided such unsettling moves at the beginning of the schooll year. Again, such behavior by a superior created feelings of uncertainty and unpredictability. What the principal did and did not do affected their lives -- their location, their tasks, their responsibilities. Poor communication in the school added to teachers' frustrations. The PA system used each day by the principal was hardly audible or often ignored. His messages at staff meetings sometimes did not get across to faculty. The principal, then, who was generally well-liked and respected in the school, created an atmosphere of frustration by his leadership style which provided no formal decision-making process, permitted a poor system of communication to exist, and failed to gain acceptance of his formal or informal authority over actions of the custodians or non-regular staff teachers. These people did as they pleased, often to the dismay of the regular faculty.

Problems with governance and leadership for teachers in School #1 are exemplified by constant and distrubing classroom interruptions. They were frequent because of the release time allowed for reading and math labs and the decreased security from outside intruders. Easy access to the building by intruders was particularly unsettling to the faculty. The principal was perceived to be unsympathetic to the concerns of the teachers when he facilitated parents' entry to the school and supported their desire to remain at school all day. Parents were viewed as an intrusion under such loose supervision. At the same time, Board financial cutbacks were partially responsible for the poor security in the school. Fewer resources caused a cutback in security personnel. The security related tasks of others were thus increased in order to accommodate this change. This created more policing duties for teachers and was stressful for them.

Budget Cuts

During this period of financial retrenchment, numerous actions taken to save money were stressful to teachers. A key stressor for teachers in this school was the addition of a Readiness program. It was placed here to enhance total enrollment and make full use of the facility to avoid its closing. Regular teachers felt pushed out of their rooms to accommodate the new program. They perceived the new program as teachers receiving new equipment, receiving no sanctions for avoiding the faculty meetings, and in general, receiving considerable preferential treatment. The addition of the 7th grade Academy magnet program caused similar reactions and added to the regular faculty's feelings of frustration and unhappiness. In addition,

the school had gone long periods without clerical help and only recently received part-time assistance. There is a lack of money for supplies, no formally assigned assistant principal, no funds for repairs to the school, low funding for custodial work and security. This all frustrated teachers and heightened stress levels. Teachers felt demeaned by these actions, felt division among faculty, and projected to the time when cutbacks might actually take their jobs away. Status and security were threatened.

Staff Relations

The addition of new programs in recent years added to staff divisiveness in the school. Regular teachers and special program teachers rarely interacted, lunch hours and staff meetings were separate, and jealousies over perceived inequities in allocation of resources, facilities and room locations highlight some of the causes. The various faculties, but especially the regular teachers, were threatened by the newcomers. This did not allow for even the semblance of a warm working relationship and added to misunderstandings and frustrations of teachers. Status and sociability were certainly threatened. Unequal treatment was perceived as, "I must not be worthy." The divisiveness restricted any feelings of common purpose. To those on the "short end," the regular teachers, this was stressful. The system also allowed for a decentralized leadership in the school, as each program was under its own authority.

TESI Data - School #1

The case study revealed four categories of stressors for School #1. They included security, referring mainly to personnel safety; governance and leadership, implying problems from higher levels of administration (the board of education and district office), as well as difficulties resulting from the principal's leadership style; budget cuts and related actions which caused supply shortages, and forced in new programs to keep enrollment levels up; and staff relations, strained relationships between different groups of teachers in the school.

In School #1, 9 teachers (32%) responded to the TESI (see Table 1). The theme of physical security is corroborated as a major stressor in the school by the substantially high average stress levels reported for: "managing disruptive children" (rank 8); "colleague assaulted in the school" (rank 10); "threat of personal injury" (rank 11); "target of verbal abuse" (rank 12). All of these items related to a fear for personal safety, which observations revealed were derived from fear of outside intruders.

Governance issues -- problems resulting from rules and regulations of higher levels of administration -- clustered as the most stressful items in the TESI responses. Of the six highest ranking stressors, five relate to this theme of governance: "notice of unsatisfactory performance" (rank 1); "denial of promotion or advancement" (rank 2); "involuntary transfer" (rank 3); "overcrowded classroom" (rank 4); and "preparation for a strike" (rank 6).

As described in the field observation report, the principal in School #1 was well-liked by a majority of the teachers, yet his loose leadership style, uncertain decision-making procedures, and poor communication system exemplify much of the frustration teachers cited. In the TESI, though the top two ranking items refer to negative assessments of performance and may reflect dissatisfaction with the principal, variables which specifically relate to the principal (#51 and #30) were ranked very low, 28th and 36th. Thus, the TESI results corroborate the category of governance as a stressor, but the principal's leadership style, which teachers generally liked despite the problems it exacerbated was not supported as a stressor by the TESI.

"Voluntary transfer," ranked fifth, requires some explanation due to its high rating. Teachers in all schools in this urban area talked of voluntary transfer as being stressful due to its implication that a teacher has been encouraged to leave a school. Thus, voluntary transfer, like involuntary transfer, is a governance-related item which causes much stress.

The theme of budget cuts was expressed in the case study through problems associated with the introduction of new programs to the school, no formally assigned assistant principal, lack of supplies, low funding for custodial work, repairs and security. Strong support for the theme of budget cuts can be found in the high ranking of "overcrowded classrooms" (rank 4) and "preparation for a strike" (rank 6), problems which may have been rated high due to dissatisfaction over budget cuts. Similarly, the high ranking of security issues as concerns for teachers in the school related to lack of funds for proper security. Yet, issues specifically cited by teachers in field observations as stressful and discussed in the case study as budget issues, received only moderate stress rankings. "Lavatory not cleaned" (rank 17) and "lack of supplies" (rank 19) were not given the high ratings that teacher protestations warranted. Field researchers' observations revealed discontent with custodial staff and the way they responded to and treated faculty. Complaints about cleanliness may have been aimed at custodians, and item ranks may indeed more accurately portray assessments of the building.

A problem derived from budget cuts -- the addition of new programs -- led to the stressor category of staff relations. Regular teachers were upset about being displaced for new programs and seemed jealous of facilities, equipment and privileges granted to newcomers. No question on the TESI specifically asked about intra-group problems, and the only related question, "disgreement with other teachers," was only given moderate rating, rank 20th. Thus, the issue of staff relations as described in the case study is not strongly supported.

A theme emerging from the TESI data for which there was little observation evidence was racial issues, "community racial issues" (rank 7) and "staff racial issues" (rank 9). Teachers did report problems with the dangerous neighborhood, the background of many parents and Spanish-speaking parents. However, even in terms of the community, interviews and observations revealed little discontent in terms of racial differences. The faculty being 93% white, the high rank for staff racial issues is especially surprising.

Clustered as the lowest ranking items for teachers in School #1 were duties related to the role expectations of teachers. During site visits, teachers reported little stress associated with doing their avowed task, teaching. TESI items which describe the everyday tasks of teaching support that idea. Thus, grading (rank 26), teaching below-average students (rank 29), daily lesson plans (rank 30), in-service meetings (rank 33) and other similar items were all given low stress ratings and ranked at the bottom of the scale.

TABLE 1
TESI Results: School #1

RANK	VARIABLE LABEL	(N=9) MEAN	S.D.
01	Notice of Unsatisfactory Performance	97.222	7.379
02	No Promotion	94.444	12.511
03	Involuntary Transfer	92.556	16.599
04	Overcrowded Classroom	90.000	14.790
05	Voluntary Transfer	80.000	26.528
06	Preparing for a Strike	79.444	22.973
07	Community Racial Issues	79.333	26.599
08	Disruptive Child	76.667	16.583
09	Staff Racial Issues	72.667	38.778
10	Colleague Assault	72.444	27.992
11	Personal Injury Threat	71.889	40.489
12	Verbal Abuse	70.222	25.670
13	Supervising Outside the Classroom	66.333	26.519
14	Maintaining Self-Control When Angry	62.778	24.253
15	Disagreement with Supervisor	60.222	36.076
16	Adding Courses	59.556	33.268
17	Lavatory Not Clean	59.111	32.987
18	Implementing Curriculum	57.889	27.021
19	Lack of Supplies	56.111	25.097
20	Disagreement with Another Teacher	55.222	34.153
21	Student Racial Issues	55.000	28.831
22	Teaching Physically or Mentally Handicapped Children	54.778	44.508
23	Change in Duties/Work Responsibilities	52.222	23.994
24	Paperwork	50.667	21.131
25	First Week of the School Year	50.000	00.000
26	Grading	47.889	32.617
27	Reorganization of Classes	43.889	16.541
28	Principal Intervention - Discipline	43.889	24.594
29	Teaching Below Average Students	43.444	44.474
30	Daily Lesson Plans	43.333	20.463
31	Talking with Parents	35.000	17.139
32	Research or Training Program from Outside the School	34.444	14.019
33	Inservice Meetings	31.333	40.491
34	Teacher-Parent Conferences	30.556	20.983
35	Students Whose Primary Language is not English	30.000	17.854
36	Principal Conferences	27.778	19.703

Case Study
School #2 - Middle

Cosmology

The school, erected in 1908, was originally built as an elementary school, then converted to a junior high school. There are five floors, a gym on the fifth floor, and the lobby is used as a lunchroom. The school enrollment is 641, less than half of the citywide average for junior high schools. The student racial breakdown is 55% Hispanic, 25% black, 15% white and 5% other. The school has a 15% absentee rate of students. The building is in poor condition, characterized by a leaky roof, falling paint and plaster, and floors which are coming up. Many light fixtures are in need of repair, with one which has been requested for repair each of the last three years. A recent fire destroyed one of the school's shops. The room was closed and walled off rather than repaired. The neighborhood, located in the central city, is rundown but going through renovations. It was formerly an Irish-German area, still has a few blacks, but is now largely Hispanic. The school has a public telephone which was periodically out of order. There is no public address system.

School #2 has ESEA Title I programs using the pull-out model (students are taken out of regular classes to attend these programs) both in reading and in math. A bilingual class is conducted which provides Spanish for many subject areas and features a program in English as a Second Language. Three special classes are provided for the handicapped, grouped by age level. Class size in these classes is about fifteen, with regular classes averaging about thirty. The school has three ability-level groupings which are based primarily on reading scores. These groups run parallel so that a student who excels in math, but not English, can take the most advanced course in one and the least advanced in the other, providing a somewhat individualized program.

School #2 has five major departments: English, social studies, math, science and foreign languages. Also offered are home economics, industrial arts and health education. No department chairpersons formally exist, and the principal and assistant principal supervise all departments.

There are 39 faculty on staff with 82% of them white, 10% black, 5% Hispanic and 3% other. Thus, the school has an 85% non-white student body with an 82% white faculty. The faculty is nearly evenly broken down by sex (49% female) and 56% of the teachers are married. The age breakdown of teachers in School #2 is 13% in the 21-30 age group; 31% in the 31-40 bracket; 41% between 41-50; and 15% 51-70. The school therefore has a relatively small staff for a junior high school with a well-spread age grouping. One assault on staff has been reported in the past year, while there have been six other incidents which were related to intruders. Six union grievances have been filed, all concerning class size.

The school is organized to keep the plant and its inhabitants protected. There are aides and teachers patrolling every floor, who confront all outsiders and students who roam around at improper times. The front door guard

is a very large imposing man who stops and checks all visitors at the door. Parents never enter classrooms without going through the proper channels. When parents or others enter the building, they go to the office to sign in. The secretary then calls the appropriate person, who must come and take the visitor to the classroom. The school counselor explained that parents are welcome to come without appointments, but they must wait until the teacher is free to see them. Teachers explained that parents come to this school only when there is a problem with a child. The Teacher Corps teacher formulated plans for greater interaction with parents and has assisted the principal in giving parents more positive feedback about their children. The principal is opposed to children selling things as a fund-raising technique, because he considers the practice dangerous in this neighborhood.

A number of teachers report no longer getting much satisfaction from their work. Excerpts from a number of teacher daily logs emphasize this point. In response to the question - what did you dislike the most this morning:

- "The uselessness of my position . . . I feel that way every morning."
- "It's a punishment to be in a school like this."
- "I often ask myself, why am I here?"
- "In the 13 years I have taught, I've taught 7 or 8 different subjects. No sooner do I get in one niche than I have to change. I never have a choice about it. I took courses at each change, prepared, and then got switched. I've taught all different levels (7-9). I've taught typing, English and reading. I'm getting very fed up."

The parents' association is not very active. On several school visits, researchers saw the PTA box stuffed with the same papers. One teacher explained that she would be pleased to see more parents, but on parents' night, "only the 'best kids' parents come."

Teachers seem to feel safe within the school, although certain staircases were suggested as dangerous. It is outside of the school, in the local area, that teachers fear for their safety. Last year, an aide was hit in the head by a doorknob, when strolling the school playground. The doorknob was thrown from a tenement building across the street.

Governance

Several teachers expressed negative feelings toward the Board of Education. One teacher said, "It is a big bureaucracy." Another explained, "the Board dehumanizes us." Two teachers complained of having problems contacting anyone at the Board. One teacher let the phone ring for 29 minutes, and no one at the Board ever picked it up. This teacher said that he has been

at the Board and seen secretaries allow phones to ring without ever answering them. Another teacher said that the clerks at the Board just sit around all day talking and drinking coffee. Still another teacher described her feelings that the Board is not at all concerned with children or with education. Yet, when questioned specifically on the effects that the Board or the district office had on their school, teachers responded that they did not know except possibly in paperwork which was a big constraint. Thus, the higher levels of administration are generally viewed negatively by teachers in School #2, although site specific complaints are not as numerous as the general comments imply. The principal felt that both the district and central boards were a hindrance and take up time without commensurate results.

Teachers at the school gave the principal mixed reviews, with some asserting that he is supportive, a strong leader, a fair supervisor, while others feel he is subjective, plays favorites, and is out to get them. The principal was observed to find ways to help teachers he considers to be capable, strong, full of ideas, in his words, "connecting with kids." One teacher commented that the school had an atmosphere that is "conducive to experimentation because the principal will take risks." Another said that the principal gives help when one needs it, while several others talked about how the principal supports opportunities and experiences for faculty that help careers and relieve boredom. If the principal does not feel a teacher is capable, however, he seems to make life miserable until they leave -- i.e. denying requests, assigning poor classes, etc. The principal had been a teacher in this school before entering administration and some teachers resent him. "If he didn't follow all the rules when he was a teacher, then I won't," one teacher commented. This teacher complained how even after a grant provided money for class coverage, the principal wouldn't allow his class to take a field trip. Another teacher commented about lack of support. She described how, after requesting help for disorderly students, the principal only suggested keeping records to show the parents. "I've never met a good administrator," she said. "None of them know their jobs. I still like teaching, but it's a hard enough job without the administrators making it harder."

The principal in School #2 does not hold regular faculty meetings. Since there is no PA system, he does not make announcements. Important information appears in memo form. Yet, even without formal conferences or machinery to disperse information, knowledge spreads very quickly in this school. The principal's administrative policies are well defined and clear cut, although his policies are not always agreed with. The principal doesn't like to be bothered with what he considers to be useless administrative matters. He complains of board interference which cuts away from his time. For example, he will not hold faculty meetings unless there are instructionally related issues to be discussed. The principal does delegate many of his administrative matters to his secretaries.

Despite the rapid passing of information and clear-cut directives from the principal, some confusion does exist among the faculty. Several teachers believe there are department heads (honorary) who assist the principal and assistant principal, as heads of the departments. The principal even stated that it is against the union contract to schedule regular meetings,

so he and the assistant principals call them only when the need arises. [Incidentally, this is not the case.] The administrators were surprised at teacher contentions that department heads exist.

There is a great emphasis in this school on order and discipline. Students respect the principal as a traditional authority figure. The following incident is a good example of the effect that the principal has on students: a class of very rambunctious eighth graders was standing in the hall. The students were lined up, talking and shouting at one another. All of a sudden, a deathly silence fell over all of them, as the line immediately became straight and all the students faced forward. The principal had walked up. While he was there the students were outdoing themselves with good and proper behavior.

During any class changes children walk to the right, as hallways have white lines down the middle. Teachers and aides enforce these rules. One teacher even commented that the administration takes an active interest in enforcing student behavioral standards because it allows for consistency and is the fairest approach in dealing with discpline problems.

Economics

The school has a total supplies budget of $2,000 for the year, including postage. Some teachers have stored up materials from past years which they are now using. Last year no midterm exams were given because of the paper shortage. This year, teachers write extensive assignments on the board for students to copy since there is not enough mimeo paper. One teacher kept cut up scrap paper in his drawer for quizzes. Another teacher explained that he buys his own materials and takes a tax deduction. When asked what they would like to change about the school if they had a chance, the deteriorating physical condition of the building and inadequate supplies and equipment were mentioned by nearly everyone. The scarcity in the school is offset somewhat by work done in the Teacher Corps center. The teacher there keeps records of needed materials (posters, visuals, handouts, etc.) and tries to track down free sources in the city. The Teacher Corps room has a mimeo machine which apparently is used extensively; however, it was broken during this project's visitation.

The principal has been able to raise support for various school programs by soliciting funds and cooperation from a number of private corporations. Presently, two are involved with the school. The principal is also seeking funds to continue support of the science fair, which the city no longer sponsors. Two teachers have donated time and equipment to running the fair.

Teacher aides patrol the halls, and teachers themselves are assigned to hall duty. One teachers' aide assists with attendance records, while another helps during the lunch period. Paraprofessionals in the school also help the bilingual teacher and a reading teacher.

There is no teacher cafeteria in the school, and students eat in a hallway where portable lunch tables are rolled out. The building is in

constant need of repair. Several examples will indicate the extent of the problem. There was a fire on the first floor last year, but instead of repairing the damage, the Board of Education decided simply to wall off the damaged area. One bench in the carpentry shop was not secured to the floor, so that one student has to hold it down while another uses it. The school's television set was broken, the only pay phone was out of order on one visitation, and some classroom radiators made much noise and didn't function properly. School athletic facilities were not in good condition. Graffiti covered the play yards, where pot holes were abundant. The girls' gymnasium was in better shape than the boys' due to one teacher who confronted officials at the district office with the dangerous conditions. There have been several instances of students getting hit with plaster coming off the walls. Teachers commented on the depressing nature of the school facilities, one saying that "I begin to feel as if the school and children don't really matter to anyone," while another complained, "It's a dreary place to work because the building is decaying." Several teachers complained of a health hazard from lead-based paint used on the building.

This year, there is hope that many of these problems may be alleviated, due to the arrival of a new custodian. Every teacher questioned reported that he is an improvement over the previous custodian, who was not responsive to teachers' needs and according to teachers, did not spend money for cleaning supplies. Many teachers never even got keys to the bathrooms in previous years, as the custodian refused to supply them.

Some of the classes in the school, including the four slowest classes, did not have textbooks. This situation has evolved, according to staff, because previous classes had lost or destroyed the books. A new reading teacher explained that she had no books to distribute to her students until she had broken a lock on a locker in her room and discovered some dictionaries there. She had been told to use Reader's Digest in lieu of regular texts.

A number of teachers also reported that time shortages cut into their effectiveness. One explained that because of responsibilities as lunchroom coordinator, time for preparing classes was extremely small or non-existent. Another described how release time for activities such as the science fair had been cut, so either he volunteered his service or the program would disappear.

Technology

Most of the classrooms in the school had very little equipment. There was heavy equipment in the shop, and it appeared well maintained. Yet much of this equipment was old and not all of it worked. The school had limited audio-visual equipment, according to staff, which they said continually did not work. The school had no money for repairs of these machines. One science class was well-stocked with globes and posters and shelves of other materials, but the teacher, referred to earlier, bought this equipment and claimed a tax deduction.

The principal teaches a computer class, which has donated equipment -- supported by a local college and area industry. Computer technology is a special interest of the principal, who also got several teachers involved in a local summer training institute. Next year, the principal expects that these teachers will take over the teaching of computer classes.

Programs in the school include a bilingual Spanish program, a Teacher Corps project, a new career education program supported by industry and initiated this year by teachers, special education, Title I and school-based support teams.

The school conducts a science fair (whose winners go on to the citywide contest when it is held), a sanitation contest and an art contest (which also is operated at the citywide level). Due to cutbacks, teachers must donate much of their time to assist students and provide for each fair held at the school. This year, the efforts of students and faculty were rewarded as the school won the citywide art contest and science fair.

Socialization Process

School #2 tries to socialize its teachers through a survival of the fittest, or sink or swim, technique. Teachers are not given much assistance, and several teachers said that one must have previous knowledge of the rules or take it upon oneself to be assimilated. The dean and the assistant principal described a "buddy-system" which existed for new teachers, but none of those interviewed knew about it. A new reading teacher explained that she got no guidance when she arrived, but was just lucky that she knew the proper procedures from the previous school. A new psychologist said that she never really got to know people in her first year, despite the small size of the school. It was not that people were unfriendly, she explained, but she just did not know where to find people. In these cases and others, each was left to his or her own resources.

A similar problem related to this theme was described by another new teacher who was confused about paper work. Nobody in the school had taken the time to explain what forms were used or how to fill them out. This teacher expounded:

> "I'm always under fire . . . I hardly have time to learn (the procedures). I send little notes to the office and they send little notes to me. This week I got a note saying, 'Where is your form X?' I sent them back a note saying, 'What is form X?' New teachers should be taught bookkeeping procedures . . ."

In contrast to these examples, two other new teachers have taken it upon themselves to "learn the ropes," and they were quickly socialized into the school. One is a black male English teacher, the other a white female special education teacher. They have both taken the initiative to be part of all school activities; they are involved in school social activities and have started a career education program. Both of these teachers are highly respected by the administration and their colleagues.

Values

Good student behavior is highly valued at this school. A shop teacher explained that "bad kids are hell to teach." After completing a session with a particularly rowdy eighth grade class, another teacher said, "Now that's stress! They're like that all the time, and it's frustrating because they won't listen and I have to tell them over and over. I had four classes today, and I felt fine. Then I had those kids for ten minutes and it's a strain."

Probably due to this emphasis on discipline, there is very little violence in the school. There is violence, however, outside the building. One student had recently been shot with a BB gun, another stabbed by a fellow student, both off of the school grounds.

The emphasis on discipline in the school is highlighted by complaints about school and city policy on discipline. Teachers complained that disruptive students cannot be removed from the school without parent's permission, even after the student has been evaluated and recommended for transfer. Teachers also mentioned that when they send disruptive students to the Dean, the students always end up back in their classroom, unrepentant, the next day. Teachers value students who behave and feel powerless to remove those they feel are real troublemakers from their rooms.

Some teachers who don't use the lounge talk disgustedly of people sleeping there, leaving food and cursing. These people blame other teachers and the administration, while they talk glowingly of their counterparts who socialize in the home economics room. This room is an unused class, which is bright, clean and filled with plants. One teacher explained, "you find a different class of people there." The lounge itself, in contrast, is described as depressing, grim, and unattractive.

Student work is highly valued and displayed around School #2. Despite the poor conditions of the school and severely limited supplies, teachers make displays in classrooms and hallways, using whatever they can, while collecting free materials where possible.

Several teachers in School #2 indicated their belief that teachers are put down by the public without cause. Said one, "The union needs a good PR firm to work on the image of teachers. I'm supposed to be a lazy bones?" Another continued, "Why does the press put us down? Because they look at reading scores, forgetting our kids are bilingual, culturally deprived. They never publish the awards our kids get!"

Social Organization

Despite the lack of a dining facility, teachers do not eat alone in their rooms. Rather, they eat in small groups in certain classrooms or restaurants, and a relatively large group gathers in the home economics room. The teachers' lounge has been the scene of confrontations between

teachers. One shouting match was observed. A teacher explained that several years ago, a number of male teachers made the lounge a very unpleasant place. The problem was that nobody cleaned the lounge; when it was spruced up, nobody would maintain it. The Teacher Corps resource person commented:

> "In years past, there was a sizeable group collecting there. Some avoided the room, they didn't want to eat with large groups of people. Others spoke loudly, and a lot of cigarette smoking went on. Always the same people were doing the work (of cleaning the lounge). Some people were always sloppy. The (industrious) people withdrew their services."

Throughout the duration of this project, the same people -- mostly male -- were seen using the lounge.

Certain factions existed in the social organization of the school, with animosity between certain groups. Two basic groups can be identified as those who support the current union representative and those who don't. This conflict over the union representative reflects the factions for and against the principal. The group which supports the principal is quite large, and those teachers are very supportive of one another. The other faction is much smaller, and conflicts with the larger group only over issues concerning the union representative and the principal. Thus, two teachers circulated a petition to oust the union representative because they believed he was in collusion with the principal, accepting favors (i.e. better classes) for supporting the administration. In fact, the union representative had just traded away a top level class and a free period because he didn't think that he should have them in his position. Subsequently, the union representative was accused by the dissenting faction of not supporting a teacher against the principal, when in fact, that teacher had gone quietly to the principal to resolve a matter he hoped would not become a union issue. One teacher, who supports the current union delegate, had these comments:

> "It's very divided here, even on union matters. Most want unity . . . it's always the same destructive group. They laugh at the others. People should stop back-biting. There are jealousies among men over power, over political issues. Some people are jealous of the union rep. They tried to oust him. He does a very good job . . . yet no one (from the dissident group) would volunteer to be a union secretary . . . they never make contributions. They are the first to say no to social activities. They think they have power, but they don't have much. That's why they push. Everyone here has equal power. Our union rep. has to watch his p's and q's. If there was more unity, it would make for a nicer working environment."

The principal does not mingle with the faculty at lunch, though he stops to speak with people in the morning and walks through the halls along with teachers on duty between periods. Some faculty perceive him as anti-social, others do not. One older teacher reminisces warmly about the last administrator who used to stand at the door and shake hands with everyone in the morning. Another teacher complained that the principal supports those he likes and doesn't support those he dislikes. Yet, this same principal continues to teach classes -- in computer science -- and a majority of teachers approved of him. For example, some teachers who wanted to have a Career Education day had his full support and assistance. He even offered to create a full time position if the plan was successful. Another teacher was pleased that the principal supported the start of an international penpal program which she started. The principal himself emphasized teamwork and the sharing that comes from personal relationships. "A school couldn't run without it," he said. Some of the friction in the school, as stated, stems from the fact that the present principal came up through the ranks in this school, and certain former colleagues resent his power.

School activities are organized primarily by the union representative and the Teacher Corps resource person, including parties, luncheons and the like. Members of all factions seem to enjoy these functions. This year, a significant change in relations took place as a result of effort by the Teacher Corps teacher. She initiated several programs, including lunch seminars, which involved large numbers of faculty interacting together, presenting programs on their interests or hobbies. Both the union and Teacher Corps persons have set as a prominent goal the bringing together of factions and easing friction.

Many teachers believed that the small size of the school added to the school's efficiency and "spirit of cooperation" among the majority of the staff. The small size also reinforces interactions with students. One teacher said that the small number of students was positive since it allowed one to become better acquainted with students and help understand their problems. Another said that the small size led to a certain friendliness, since "relatively small size allows for familiarity with the entire staff and student population." A third teacher commented that, "because it is so small, we can depend on each other for support." Still another agreed with this, "If it weren't for the help we give each other, I never could have made it this far." Thus, despite the factions due to a dissident group against the principal, the faculty in School #2 are stable and for the large part supportive of one another.

Language

There is a language barrier between teachers and the community; most parents are Spanish-speaking. One teacher explained, "You want to respond to a parent; they made an effort to come here. I can understand but not respond." Another typical problem for teachers was what to do with Spanish-speaking children. A teacher described how he let his pupils out to play

baseball because of the communication problems. Another explained how he sits Spanish-speaking students next to someone who can translate for them and that he is careful to use very simple words, brief phrases and large gestures to explain something. One teacher said that "I want to learn Spanish, but I have too much paperwork, so I can't." This year, however, there is an Hispanic Bilingual Program Director who was also elected president of the Parents Association (PA). The director is able to conduct PA meetings in both Spanish and English. The principal, assistant, union representative and Teacher Corps teacher all agreed that this helped relationships with parents, and the council is now more effective than in the past. Teachers, however, do not often attend the PA meetings or have a sense of its work.

Some male teachers in the school use obscenities when they are together, although not with students. This same group of men were sarcastic, particularly in response to certain of the survey instruments for this research.

Stressors - School #2

Four categories of stressors were identified from case study information.

Security

While teachers reported feeling rather safe within the school plant, the surrounding neighborhood was perceived as very dangerous. The school is imbedded in a tough neighborhood, and teachers, as well as students, have been assaulted in the general area of the building. An aide was hit in the head with an object thrown from a nearby building last year. The lack of a parking lot near the school created the necessity of walking through the neighborhood to get to public transportation or to one's car. Considerable stress resulted from fear for personal safety. Within the building, the great emphasis on discipline, the stringent security at the front door and constant patrolling of halls, as well as the small size of the faculty, all added to the sense of feeling safe within the school.

Budget Cuts and Related Actions

As with other schools in this city, budget cuts were affecting teachers and their ability to do their job. There were few supplies and a miniscule supplies budget. Midterms were not given last year, for example, because of paper shortages. Several teachers had difficulty obtaining textbooks. Things were bad before; there was every indication that they would get worse. The extremely poor condition of the building and inability to make repairs intensified these frustrations. Walls were cracked, students were hit with plaster falling off walls, the roof leaked, light fixtures were broken. Several teachers said that the entire atmosphere was very depressing. In addition to problems of poor maintenance, no cafeteria, no parking facilities and no PA system, the mood that budget restraints and lack of funds

fostered was often unsettling. When asked what they would change about the school, if they could, almost every teacher responded to the deteriorating physical condition of the building and inadequate supplies and equipment. These conditions presented threats to status, security and sociability. It must be pointed out, however, that there were many positive aspects about this school that tempered the potential for stress. For example, the final site visit revealed that some repairs had been made, improving the conditions. Further, the conditions were long-standing; most teachers were veterans to the school and were not in a period of adjustment to them.

Governance/Leadership

Faculty members differed in their feelings towards the principal of School #2. The large majority of teachers was supportive of him and felt that he encouraged good work and creativity. But, a faction did exist, of experienced teachers, who resented the principal (a former teacher at the school) and often worked to undermine him. They believed the principal to be biased, vindictive and unsupportive of those who were not his "favorites." This split undermined cohesiveness and sociability among the faculty. In two other areas of governance, the faculty was in general agreement.

There was a dislike for the Board of Education which was felt to be unreasonable in its demands, uncaring about the education of children, and unavailable to local personnel for complaints or assistance. Teachers resented administrative policies which made removing disruptive children nearly impossible and allowed for changes of programs without any prior notice. Finally, the staff was upset with the custodial work in the school. The principal had little control over the custodial staff. This old, deteriorating structure required much repair work and attention, and teachers felt that the custodian was too powerful and did as he pleased, often ignoring their problems. The uncaring nature of the Board was perceived as dehumanizing and unprofessional. One's status as a worthy professional and esteem in that role were difficult to maintain. Such treatment, perceived or real, created stress universally. The poor maintenance of the building was perceived as a further indication of the low opinion those in upper level administrative positions must have of teachers.

Staff Relations

The divisiveness of the faculty, the existence of factions, did add to the overall stress level of the school. Although the Teacher Corps person was able to transcend some of the boundaries which existed and bring staff together for luncheon demonstration lessons, the resentments and dislikes in the school which centered around the union representative and the principal have existed for years and will probably continue in the future. Thus, despite the strong ties which exist among faculty -- possibly due to the small size of the staff -- a group of dissenters did make certain situations uncomfortable. As one teacher described, "If there was more unity, it would make for a nicer working environment."

TESI Data - School #2

Four categories of stressors evolved from the case studies. They included security, relating mainly to conditions of the neighborhood rather than in-school security; budget cuts, reflected in severe lack of supplies, poor condition of the building, lack of funds for repairs, and the like; governance and leadership, with general dislike for the Board of Education and the feeling that it is inept and inadequate, while a small group of dissenters dislike the principal; finally, staff relations, problems derived from the small dissenting group of teachers who dislike the principal and the union representative.

The problems of security outside of the school in the local neighborhood were reflected in TESI responses "threat of personal injury" (rank 4) and "community racial issues" (rank 7). The distinction between in-school and outside-school safety, the latter being the greater problem, is displayed in the lower rating for "colleague assaulted in the school" (rank 17). This moderate ranking supports the observed conclusion that out-of-school safety was the stronger and more stressful factor.

Governance issues on which almost all teachers agreed focused discontent on the Board of Education. "Involuntary transfer," "notice of unsatisfactory performance," and "denial of promotion" are the three highest ranked items and are likely related to discontent with Board policies. Similarly, "voluntary transfer" (rank 5), "overcrowded classroom" (rank 9) and "taking additional course work for promotion" (rank 11) all connote a dissatisfaction with Board rules and regulations. While certain of these items may also relate to unhappiness with the principal, "conference with the principal" (rank 30) and "seeking principal's intervention in a discipline matter" (rank 27) both reveal lack of stress from dealings with the principal. The case study did reveal dissatisfaction among teachers with both Board policies and school policies concerning student discipline -- the notion that removing disruptive children was nearly impossible and that troublemakers always wind up back in the classroom. "Managing disruptive children" (rank 5), "overcrowded classroom" (rank 8) and "target of verbal abuse" (rank 9) all have high stress ratings and possibly reflect the commonly expressed dislike for such procedures. In general, however, the TESI data reveal a great concern with Board procedures to be highly stressful.

Evidence in the TESI supports the category of budget cuts and their efforts. Teachers reported shortages of supplies and poor physical conditions, and TESI results "lack of supplies" (rank 8), "overcrowded classroom" (rank 9) and "lavatory not clean" (rank 15) provide moderate, though not overwhelmingly strong, support for concerns about in-school conditions.

The problem of staff relations, as specified from case study material, does not receive strong support in the TESI. This may result from there being no question directly related to the specific problems as depicted in School #2, but "disagreement with another teacher" (rank 16) and "disagreement with supervisor" (rank 14), items which might reflect the discontent expressed, received only moderate stress ratings. Once again, items directly related to the role expectations for teachers, "in-service meetings" (rank 29), "below average students" (rank 31), "grading" (rank 35), etc., were all clustered at the low end of the stress rankings.

TABLE 2
TESI Results: School #2

RANK	VARIABLE LABEL	(N=22) MEAN	S.D.
01	Notice of Unsatisfactory Performance	82.286	31.952
02	Involuntary Transfer	81.095	32.193
03	No Promotion	79.667	32.133
04	Personal Injury Threat	78.190	25.655
05	Voluntary Transfer	76.143	39.171
06	Disruptive Child	74.286	21.753
07	Community Racial Issues	71.476	35.458
08	Lack of Supplies	68.857	24.757
09	Overcrowded Classroom	68.429	29.703
10	Verbal Abuse	67.905	27.968
11	Adding Courses	66.000	37.670
12	Teaching Physically or Mentally Handicapped Children	65.952	34.286
13	Preparing for a Strike	65.667	38.487
14	Disagreement with Supervisor	64.571	30.304
15	Lavatory Not Clean	62.524	32.449
16	Disagreement with Another Teacher	61.952	26.347
17	Colleague Assault	61.381	28.575
18	Student Racial Issues	61.095	36.021
19	Research or Training Program from Outside the School	59.762	39.689
20	Change in Duties/Work Responsibilities	59.619	30.707
21	Maintaining Self-Control When Angry	59.048	28.488
22	Staff Racial Issues	56.905	42.517
23	Supervising Outside the Classroom	56.762	32.281
24	Reorganization of Classes	56.619	29.418
25	Implementing Curriculum	56.571	28.391
26	Principal Intervention - Discipline	56.048	36.062
27	In-Service Meetings	51.952	38.891
28	Daily Lesson Plans	50.810	31.791
29	First Week of the School Year	50.000	00.000
30	Principal Conferences	49.810	30.063
31	Teaching Below Average Students	46.286	32.259
32	Paperwork	46.095	35.041
33	Students Whose Primary Language is Not English	42.476	32.721
34	Talking with Parents	42.476	31.830
35	Grading	36.714	26.678
36	Rate Stress	34.333	31.935
37		2.762	1.414

Case Study
School #3 - Secondary

Cosmology

Erected in 1924, School #3 consists of five stories. On the upper floor are student-teacher cafeterias, a photo lab and science rooms. The basement houses a pool which is open to the public during specified hours. The condition and cleanliness of the building was appropriate for a school this age. Walls are chipped, but some have been touched up. Although the roof leaked, the board installed a new cafeteria ceiling directly below the leaks without repairing them. The windows are in one piece.

Enrollment in the school is 2,621, with a white majority of 73%, black enrollment of 18%, Hispanic 8% and 1% other. This puts the school below the minority standard set by the central board of education. The neighborhood is completely white and is surrounded by primarily white areas. Hispanic students travel as much as an hour by subway to get to the school. Average attendance at School #3 was 73% last year.

There are 107 teachers in the school. Most faculty are white, 94%, while 3% are black and 3% Hispanic. Over half of the teachers, 57%, are female, with a predominant number of the entire faculty, 79%, being married. In terms of age, 11% are 21-30 years old, 38% 31-40, 36% 41-50 and 13% 51-70. There were three assaults reported on staff last year and no union grievances filed.

The school has a long and rich tradition, including in its graduates several prominent actors and many doctors, lawyers, judges and other professionals. The community surrounding the school formerly was predominantly Jewish; however, today the great majority are Italian with a sprinkling of other groups. The area is considered safe, and it is residential with small retail businesses. Much of the local business is conducted in Italian. Several civic associations are prominent in the neighborhood, including the American Legion, Kiwanis, Catholic Charities and Congress of Italian Americans. Block Associations strongly support the school, as do other organizations. There is no public housing in the area, although black and Hispanic students who live in public housing come to this school under the city's open enrollment plan.

The school administration consists of the principal, two assistant principals who perform administrative duties and eight department heads who are certified school administrators and are also given the title of assistant principal. The school employs five paraprofessionals, who, with the exception of one young black woman, are all white, female, live in the neighborhood and are in their fifties. The school also has ten aides, similar in characteristics to the majority of paraprofessionals.

The school houses an Italian bilingual program funded by ESEA Title VII, with about 130-150 students. Three years ago, the school voluntarily took 100 brain-damaged students for a city board funded project. Seven special education teachers carry on the program. The school has an alternative program

serving about 100 potential dropouts, aimed at providing a degree. For the past three years this high school has also offered an academy program for gifted students, which is aimed at retaining more able students who otherwise might leave for specialized high schools. This program links classroom work to occupational training, cooperates with hospitals and the Metropolitan Opera which brings students to see performances, and includes a small city grant to put on stage plays. The school has a summer work study program and a marching band -- one of the few schools in the city to have one. Students are able to take city civil service tests on site, because a state employment agency employee works there. Tracks in the school include an academic and a career track.

There are eight departments in the school. These include: social studies, communication arts (speech and English), math, science, secretarial skills and business, physical education (including health education), industrial arts (including fine arts and home economics) and foreign language (including music).

There is an obvious difference between community and school personnel concerning the primary function of the school, according to teachers. Parents take the position that schools should train their children to take on roles similar to previous generations. Parents view the work milieu as male-dominated, with the traditional domestic role filled by the female. Teachers, on the other hand, appear to value academics and the school experiences as a means of broadening potential for students and increasing future opportunities. Many parents hope their children will take jobs and live in the surrounding community, carrying on the ethnic traditions of the neighborhood. As a result, teachers, principal and administrators perceive parents as provincial and limited in their aspirations for their children. To a great extent, the school curriculum is oriented towards heightening a child's aspirations, which leads to much parent questioning about the relevance of what is taught. A teacher said that one parent stated, "Why worry about school, teach her some typing, she's gonna get married." Another said, "They (parents) do not want girls to go on; education is for boys, girls should get married respectably." Parental involvement in the school is minimal, then, unless the school is perceived to have violated any strongly held beliefs. Thus, when a rezoning proposal would have integrated the school, parents came out enmass and pounded on oil drums outside the school for three weeks until the Board of Education rescinded the order. Parents displayed a very strong desire to preserve their neighborhood and traditional way of life.

Teachers in School #3 expressed a desire for a more controlled and orderly working environment, one in which they have more authority over their students, less dependence upon Board policy, and greater control in handling current problems, including: lateness of students, cutting, general chaos, kids doing what they pleased, teachers not being treated as authority figures, and problems of race relations among students.

A related problem that affects the teaching environment results from conflicts with Board directives. The city superintendent has set time-on-task as a major priority. Presumably, the management by objectives (MBO) system for principals was implemented to facilitate time-on-task. The Board and superintendent set goals, which must be translated by the principal into

specific objectives for the school and then broken down further by department. This year, a controversial addition was implemented: teachers must translate the MBO form into classroom objectives. Though this is just an extension of regular standardized lesson plans, teachers see this as very constraining and too time consuming. Thus, while time-on-task is a Board priority, Board rules cause excessive paperwork and waste time. Supervisors and principals also view this as wasteful, supporting teacher beliefs that top-down rules are irrational.

Governance

The school is run by a cabinet that includes the principal, all assistant principals and deans. Although most policies come directly from the Board of Education, the cabinet makes decisions concerning implementation of policy. Department chairpersons are supervisors, with supervisory licenses, although they teach two classes. The principal appoints the department chairs as assistant principals, after a search committee recommendation, which must be approved by the city superintendent. Certain cabinet members have greater informal power than others, condoned by the principal, although formally all areas are equal. There is also a parent-teacher-student group called the Consultative Council. It advises the principal "on any issue relative to the daily functioning of the school." It is advisory; it has no funds or voting privileges, but reportedly does have some influence with the principal. Five parents are elected by the PTA, five teachers by school personnel and five students by the student body.

The principal's chief role in the school is working with the cabinet, the Board and with city supervisors. He relies heavily on the cabinet. One department chair explained that the cabinet is strong, and since the principal came to the school with no previous administrative experience, he "builds on the strength of his cabinet." Most departments meet once a month, although some meet more frequently. Teachers reported that the department chairpersons are important, in terms of ordering supplies, evaluating teachers and solving problems. The principal and two of the assistant principals were cited by teachers as the most powerful forces in the school.

Department heads are required to submit to the principal and the Board fifty written teacher observations each year, including at least three each for new teachers. Principals must submit forty to the Board. At year's end, an evaluation is recorded by the principal for each teacher of "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory." An unsatisfactory rating must be preceded by consultation with the teacher and efforts to help the teacher improve. This rating may serve as the basis for hearings on teacher removal, though most teachers rated unsatisfactorily voluntarily transfer. Only a small number of teachers reacted negatively to the teacher evaluation system of the school, indicating support for this method of evaluation. Most believed that the department chairs were "reasonable" in their observations.

Several teachers mentioned that the principal does not enforce rules regarding student behavior. They implied that because of this, there are many students who wander through the halls during classes. Thus, comments were

made such as, "I don't think he gives a damn," or "he isn't an educator," or "the administration doesn't realize what we are faced with." One teacher said that more teachers should patrol halls and "if the administration would get more concerned, it would filter down."

Teachers in School #3 did not feel that they had much input in decision-making in the school and also strongly believed that the Board and District office were too interfering and incompetent. Teachers do not believe that they are encouraged to speak up; "whatever he feels should be done is done," reflected most teachers thoughts about the principal. There is not voting by the faculty, although most teachers did say that department chairs do listen to their ideas. Numerous teachers related stories aimed at criticizing the Board and highlighting its incompetence. The principal said the Board mandates are harmful to the school and complained that there was "no budgeting freedom at all." He openly criticized a new Board regulation on control of weapons in a faculty meeting. Teachers complained about having equipment taken away which was never replaced or was lost and talked about expensive equipment which was left unrepaired. The whole system of absenteeism set up by the Board was described as being designed to promote poor attendance by teachers. Teachers explained that days are accumulated each year for ten years, at which time they are paid for half and the rest are removed. Also, if one leaves the system before ten years, all accumulated sick days are lost. Thus, as one teacher described the sentiment of some, "It doesn't pay not to take your sick days . . . the Board of Education doesn't reward you for saving sick days."

Teachers were upset about the fact that the Board of Education imposes mandates wihout consulting those who must comply with them. The MBO lesson plans ordered by the Board were a prime example of this. The principal said in a faculty meeting that confusion was caused by the Superintendent's actions (who first rescinded the MBO plan, then reinstituted it) and by the language in the lesson plan format instructions. He commented "I think it is confusing . . . I've never heard of teaching this way." Teachers throughout the school were similarly confused and upset about this mandate.

Other problems in the school related to governance were associated with programming and assignment to homerooms for teachers. The school operated under several different programs and bell schedules, and teachers were not always certain which program was in effect. At times, the school bell system did not function properly. Student programming was handled by teacher counselors, who move children around without consulting the various teachers involved. This was very unsettling to the faculty. Homeroom teachers have much additional paperwork, and teachers throughout the school try to obtain other duties to avoid having a homeroom.

Economics

In order to have a department chair, the department has to have twenty or more faculty members. Many of the departments are on the borderline. Some, like the industrial arts, home economic, art, and music departments have been consolidated into one, as have all the sciences, which used to be two separate departments -- physical and biological. Number of faculty

was an economic issue to all the chairpersons, who spent considerable time at one cabinet meeting arguing about electives. The math and industrial arts department heads were especially concerned about the number of electives being offered by larger departments, as electives lure students away and thus reduce faculty.

This situation is complicated by the role teacher counselors play in the school. Chairpersons expressed frustration and annoyance with the teacher counselors who are responsible for students' program plans. However, it is the assistant principal of Guidance, in consultation with the principal, who supervises and directs the teacher counselors. This assistant principal explained that through the teacher counselors, department size can be controlled, and certain unwanted administrators can be removed. Apparently, this was the case with the consolidation of the two science departments. Placement of a course at the freshman level is one means of affecting a course's continuance, as there is a 45% dropout rate, and courses assigned to earlier grades are more likely to attract necessary numbers of students.

Although a majority of teachers commented that supplies were not adequate, observations revealed that although there are shortages, this school had more supplies than others observed. One teacher explained that high schools in this city are centralized, while lower level schools are decentralized, the situation seems to be that the politics of the decentralized system make it imperative to put funds into jobs, at the expense of supplies; this is not the case with the centralized high school system. Teachers in several departments explained that they had wide latitude in this school in selection of texts and development of curriculum materials. Teachers did say that they would prefer having permanent rooms, but administrators explained that it is logistically impossible. Teachers in most departments move from room to room each period, and to fully utilize the plan, permanent rooms cannot be assigned.

The physical condition of this building due to old age and repair problems, concerned many teachers. Paint was peeling from walls, lights throughout the school were burned out, garbage is evident on floors, window shades were torn, some windows were cracked, walls were painted with different, often unmatching, colors. In one classroom, a large hole in the ceiling was obvious, which the teacher explained had not been repaired for 15 years. The room was quite cold and uncomfortable due to this problem.

Several teachers remarked that the condition of the room is important for psychological reasons, and that this school was in very bad shape. Teachers shared the belief that the custodial staff was not doing its best to keep the school tidy. One teacher complained, "It used to be kept, but our custodial staff doesn't give a damn." Said another, "How can you teach in conditions like this?"

Some teachers in spite of the prevalent sense of safety, voiced concern about security. The head of security acknowledges this perception and indicates that personnel cutting budget maneuvers will hurt this situation even more. Ironically, many teachers in the school avoid assisting with security by taking assorted jobs which relieve them of teaching. Teachers

seem to enjoy these jobs (i.e. teacher counselor) and many feel it heightens their prestige. The principal indicated, however, that the popularity of these jobs severely affects his ability to strengthen security, as there are fewer teachers to assign to hall patrols. As he stated, "I can only assign certain teachers to non-teaching functions. A lot of these are taken up by teacher counselors and the like. That leaves nothing for patrolling the building, except for the Deans. We are severely restricted by the number of teachers on compensatory time."

Teachers were quite vocal about the effects that budget cuts have on their job and performance. Some sample comments verify these concerns: "Budget changes mean increased work load but less time." "Everything is increased, except your salary." "I didn't do a third of the administrative work in the 60's as I do now." "There were nine notes in my box, six pages of things to do from the 6th to the 26th. I had to do my marks at home until 11 p.m. but didn't finish them. I had to type a recommendation for someone -- I really liked typing it but did not have time to go to the bathroom. We're working against time." "Here's what I should be doing -- helping young teachers to get started."

Technology

Most of the rooms in School #3 did not display any maps, screens or audio-visual apparatus. The desks in many rooms were old, wrought iron and bolted to the floor. There is a public address system in the school, although teachers stated that it was an annoyance and often announcements are totally ignored. Teachers complained that there was no toilet paper in the bathrooms, and observations revealed no paper towels or cups in dispensers at water coolers. In general, the school was characterized as being run down and unkept by teachers, as several teachers complained of the "filth" of the building.

The school has elevators which extend up through all five floors, to be used by faculty and handicapped students. However, the elevator operators were lost in some past budget cuts, and now students openly ride the elevators in abuse of the rules. Some teachers enforced the rules, ejecting non-handicapped students, but many of the teachers observed did not.

The school principal has had the choice of trading personnel (teaching equivalencies) for a computer system which would assist in the job of scheduling now done manually by certain teachers. He stated that if he got the system, he would lose teachers. He feels it is better to have teachers do it manually, on their own time, in order to retain jobs.

A few teachers stated that they were in need of equipment and even implied that the principal blocked their requests for the equipment. Few machines, few visual or audio aids and small amounts of general supplies were observed in the school. This was confirmed by comments of teachers who complained of old, ill-repaired equipment. "No money for years," one said, "it's shot, film is torn . . . a big problem." The science department did have lab equipment, but the art and industrial arts departments complained

of being severely underequipped, oftentimes without having rudimentary tools to train students. Similarly, the secretarial studies department complained of inadequate equipment to meet their needs, although they do have use of a word processing terminal. This year, a computer training component was added to the special federally-funded bilingual program.

The school does not have a playing field, but does have a practice field.

Socialization Process

The principal in this school sits in on classes taught by new teachers. During his observations, the principal's attitude is described as gracious, supportive and somewhat paternalistic. A young female teacher explained that the principal overheard her using the word "hell" in class. He came into the classroom, took her chin in his hands, and told her, "you have to watch your language." To another young female teacher, he stated, "Don't worry about a thing."

New teachers have homeroom or prefect classes, which require a lot of paperwork and follow-up activity. More experienced teachers generally attempt to avoid homeroom duty. Other assignments, seen by teachers as more prestigious, can be substituted for homeroom. Supposedly, homerooms are assigned on a rotating basis, although several teachers explained that it does not work that way. The implication of this was that assignment of homeroom duty could be used by the administration as a reward or punishment.

Most of the faculty at School #3 have been teaching for a number of years and have been at this school for quite some time. Teachers have developed long-lasting relationships with one another and have a vested interest in school traditions which have evolved. Yet, young teachers are looked upon as a vital source for the school. New teachers are not rejected; in fact they are often looked upon with admiration for the energy which they bring. Some teachers expressed pleasure with newer faculty who are willing "to go that extra mile." An administrator expressed the view that some older teachers are somewhat burned out and do not exert any extra effort. The school, however, has had very minimal turnover, which does not allow for much influx of young faculty, but has permitted a constancy and growth of pride in the school and its traditions.

School-wide staff meetings and departmental meetings are generally information passing gatherings from the principal and assistant principal in charge of administration. The principal at one general staff meeting took time to recognize the efforts of several faculty and staff for various activities. He also attempted to explain some board rules which were being popularized in city newspapers and were not yet finalized. Teachers in the school seem to have great autonomy as long as they fit in with the norms and standards dictated at the departmental and center school level.

Values

The school administration likes to think of the school as being primarily academically oriented, although many teachers argue it is not. The principal stated that he tries to get all students interested in college and he is very concerned with students' academic achievement. However, several teachers explained that although the school was once a high achieving school, in recent years, the students have become increasingly non-academic in orientation. Many teachers -- especially from the English Department -- lament the decrease in standards and the lowering of students' skills. "This should probably be a vocational school," one social studies teacher said, "we totally don't prepare them for jobs." Teachers in certain non-academic programs complained that they do not have the principal's full support. Some teachers and administrators from these program areas related incidents in which the principal was openly hostile to or disdainful of their efforts and to their students. These programs include secretarial studies, art, vocational education, special education and the dropout program. Several teachers emphasized that teaching academic subjects is more prestigious than teaching non-academic subjects.

Many teachers said that this school had prestige because it is a relatively safe place to work. Some teachers mentioned that the sociability among teachers added to the school's prestige. One teacher claimed that this is considered to be "one of the warmest faculties" in the city. Teachers mentioned that they worried about school safety and that more could be done about security. But most felt that, comparatively, this school had a pleasant atmosphere. One teacher summed up these feelings by commenting that this was a safe school compared to other schools. "Assaults," he said, "were not very serious." Another said, "I couldn't feel more secure!"

All black students who attend the school commute -- none are local. When asked why few or no black students participate in extracurricular activities, teachers explained that it is not safe for black students to be in the neighborhood after dark. Teachers added that it is not safe for blacks to travel in the subway in this area at night. One teacher reported that "the time before Christmas and before Easter is especially tense." He said that white students in the school aim for what they call "a White Christmas;" they try to get rid of all blacks in the school for the Christmas season.

Numerous students were seen smoking around the school, especially in the stairwells. Yet, teachers or administrators were seldom observed attempting to stop the smoking, though it is strictly prohibited by school rules. Students did attempt to hide cigarettes when adults approached, although faculty were usually more intent on getting to their destinations than stopping the smoking. This typifies a characteristic of the school, that teachers expressed concern about disorder in the organization, but most do not feel it is their responsibility to maintain order outside of the classroom or waste time handling disruptive students in class. Teachers believe their job is to teach, and they repeatedly indicated that the administration's job is to maintain order and to provide an environment conducive to learning.

Several teachers talked about a lack of respect from students. One argued that although "some teachers don't deserve respect . . . many good teachers do deserve it." Others made remarks such as "the attitude of students, the apathy" bothers them most about teaching. One teacher, talking of the students, concluded, "you're drained, controlled, manipulated so much. There's no way to change that." Said another, "homework is a dirty word."

Social Organization

School #3 is a very social school. During one visitation, a birthday party was held while plans were discussed for a faculty trip to a nearby resort on a school holiday. Such events are commonplace for teachers in this school. Last year's union representative is in charge of school-wide social events this year. Within each department, there are also parties and social events. Every year, for example, the science department has its own Christmas party, and former students often attend.

Some factionalism exists in the school, although at school-wide events or in the lunchroom, teachers from various departments do intermingle regularly. A number of teachers explained that social contacts in the school usually begin at one's department, then widen from there. In several departments, many teachers were observed eating together regularly in the department office. A group of Orthodox Jewish teachers were continually seen congregating in the lounge reading the Bible and debating in Hebrew. Several teachers described this group as very close and separate from the rest of the staff.

This year, the men's teachers' lounge has been converted to classroom space and the women's lounge is now used by both sexes. The room is very quiet, as most who use it do paperwork. There appears to be some segregation by sex, as usually it is occupied solely by men or women. When both sexes are present, they do not sit together. This gender segregation was reinforced in the teachers' cafeteria. Although members from various departments mix together, they largely stay segregated by sex. A female teachers' aide commented that, "if you sit down with them (a woman with men), they make a snide comment." Similarly, in reference to the lounge, the female librarian stated that she doesn't use the teachers' lounge any more because men are now in it.

Language

As a result of the school's location in an Italian-dominated community, Italian is occasionally spoken by faculty and students. There also seems to be a high tolerance for cursing and obscenities from students. In one heated exchange between a student and a teacher, for example, foul language was openly used by the pupil. Also at the year-end Sing (Choral Presentation), several students used obscenities and made suggestive noises. This is not unusual or considered a particularly negative behavior. Teachers do try to set a model of behavior for students, which excludes the use of foul

language. Teachers do use some colorful terms -- "stuff it," "bullcrap," etc., which seem to be acceptable to most faculty. Teachers and administrators addressed students by first name or used nicknames such as "babe," "handsome," or the like. This represented a very unauthoritative style in the school; women teachers generally seemed more formal than men. Several teachers did criticize the "new" way students and teachers interact and complained that relating to students as pals allowed for a lack of respect.

Teachers often referred to "the cabinet" in conversations. Many times the school cabinet was cited as only advisory to the principal, which implemented, but did not make, policy. "The Board" was identified as the body which made policy.

Stressors - School #3

Stressors were grouped in three categories.

Governance

Teachers in School #3 were very perturbed with the Board of Education. The Board was seen as insensitive to teachers' ideas, feelings and needs, and Board policies and mandates were seen as traditional. The Board's mandate of a new social studies curriculum without consulting the teachers, those who would have to use the plan, was an example of the irritating approach of the Board. Similarly, a new Board rule on controlling student use of weapons in schools was seen as ridiculous and impossible to implement by teachers. The superintendent's priority with time-on-task and concommitant MBO system for classroom objectives bothered teachers. It was seen as too much paperwork, repetitive of things done in the past, and generally unnecessary. Other rules and regulations, such as the one which disallowed teachers from touching students, so that violators of school rules could only be detained without use of hands, left teachers feeling that they were the victims and at a disadvantage in dealing with present day problems. As in other schools, the Board's treatment was viewed as demeaning by teachers.

The principal at School #3 was supported by some teachers, disliked by others. In general, teachers seemed to feel that they had little input in school-wide decision-making, although at the department level their voices would be heard. Teachers believed that the principal did pretty much as he pleased, while some complained that the principal was completely out of touch with the reality of their existence. Problems with assignment of programs, playing of favorites with school jobs, lack of sensitivity to teachers' needs in the student program office, an irregular bell schedule and lack of enforcement of student discipline rules by the principal were symptomatic of the atmosphere many teachers disliked. This discontent with administrative functions made teachers feel they had to perform duties beyond their expectations or job descriptions. They felt used, and many reacted by not enforcing rules outside their classroom. These conditions engendered instances of open disrespect for teachers outside of class and a resultant level of informality

that made some teachers uncomfortable. Teachers in School #3 also were unhappy with the custodial staff and activity in the school, and the independence of the custodial department was again cited as the difficulty.

Budget Cuts and Related Actions

The effects of budget cuts were felt throughout the school. The poor physical condition of the building was one result. Money for repairs, painting and other necessary upkeep had been severely cut. Teachers complained about cracked ceilings, a leaky roof which was never repaired but covered up, and even a dearth of toilet tissue in faculty lounges which epitomized the effects of retrenchment and scarcity. Needed repair work on often outdated equipment was not performed; shops and science labs were especially affected by this. One teacher commented, "How can you teach in conditions like this?" A related issue was the lack of security personnel. The head of security acknowledged that future budget cuts would undoubtedly worsen this problem. And teachers avoid jobs assisting in security, generally viewing such jobs as beyond their role. Deteriorating physical conditions, as in other schools, created feelings of futility and hopelessness -- a marching backward, not even holding the status quo. Diminishing equipment reserves portended a regression also in terms of teaching techniques. The decrease in security personnel was received with increased fear of volatile outbreaks from students. These posed real increasing threats to status and security with the result being increased stress.

Student Issues

This school was formerly a very high achieving academic institution, and the present student body departs from this relished past. Decreases in academic standards and student abilities are a big concern of faculty, the majority of whom have been teaching here for a long time. In addition, student attitudes towards teachers have changed, and the present verbal abuse, disruptive nature of students and lack of respect for teachers bothers many faculty. Finally, the small number of black students in the school, most of whom must travel long distances on public transportation to get to School #3, are discriminated against openly by the majority white student population. Racial tensions, riots, assaults and the like are perodic occurences. Considerable pressure is put on faculty to keep the lid on and somehow circumvent these problems. These distractions disturb the teaching process and add to teacher frustrations. The change in student attitude and performance required stricter discipline, more attention to remediation, and rethinking of academic standards -- all adjustments that veteran teachers found undesirable. One's esteem was built to some significant extent on academic excellence and achievement. Again, the overall sense was a gradual movement to a less desirable state of affairs, a trend that had every chance for continuing in the future.

TESI Data - School #3

The high school had three major groups of stressors: governance and leadership, referring to bad feelings about the rules, regulations and

operation of the Board of Education, as well as a group who disliked the principal, believed that he played favorites and was unresponsive to teachers; budget cuts, which came out as poor condition of the building, need for repairs, lack of security help, cuts in compensatory time and a general belief that advances were not being made, only retrenchment; and student issues, the change of the school from high achieving to a low achieving and a disruptive, unresponsive and racist student body. Results of the TESI are displayed in Table 3.

The three top rated items, "involuntary transfer," "notice of unsatisfactory performance," and "denial of promotion," provide support for the expressed dissatisfaction with the Board and its policies. The latter two may also indicate some dissatisfaction with the decision-making methods of the principal.

A number of items suggest the dissatisfaction voiced by many teachers concerning the haphazard enforcement of rules by the administration. "Managing disruptive children" (rank 5), "supervising student behavior outside the classroom" (rank 13), and possibly "maintaining self-control when angry" (rank 11) are all ranked fairly high. While these will be discussed below concerning relevance to the Student Issues category, they may also indicate that, indeed, teachers are genuinely upset with the way certain things are administered, one of them being implementation of student discipline policies.

There is also rather strong corroboration for the category, Student Issues, being a source of stress for teachers. "Managing disruptive children" (rank 5), "overcrowded classroom" (rank 7), "target of verbal abuse" (rank 10), "supervising student behavior outside of classroom" (rank 13), and possibly "maintaining self-control when angry" (rank 11) all are directly or indirectly student management related. The items, "threat of personal injury" (rank 4), "colleagues assaulted in school" (rank 6) and "community racial issues" (rank 8) may be student-related as well. The high ranking and large number of student-related items certainly indicate considerable concern about students, their behavior inside and outside of class, and perhaps reflect the reported changes in student attitudes towards the school and teachers -- a general decrease in respect for teachers and for academic achievement. The dissatisfaction with students as a source of stress appears second only to the governance issues described above.

There is little indication in the TESI data to support the interpretation that considerable stress was being caused by the lack of supplies and funds for repair, and the generally poor condition of the physical plant. The evidence that the plant was in very poor shape is strong -- it was one of the overwhelming impressions left on the project site visitors, as well as the field researchers. However, the two items which are usually indicators of discontent with conditions, "lack of supplies" and "lavatory not clean" were ranked 17 and 28 respectively.

In contrast to this, field researchers reported that budget cuts would reduce substantially the security personnel around the school, something reported often by the administration with apprehension. This apprehension and concern was countered to some extent by the fairly safe and

physically secure feeling that teachers reported inside and outside the building. Particular TESI items ranked quite high, however, would indicate that security (safety) was indeed threatened: "threat of personal injury" (rank 4) and "colleague assaulted in the school" (rank 6). These seem to indicate some fear for personal safety in teachers.

These apparent conflicts can be rationalized to some degree. TESI data were gathered shortly after the second round of data collection. This came on the heels of a lot of media coverage concerning gun laws, and citizens' concerns about physical safety were heightened. From past research, it has been found that the TESI is highly reactive to crisis situations. Security may have been a heightened concern for teachers at the time the instrument was filled out.

Physical conditions of the school may be a concern for teachers, but may be secondary to concern with Board matters, student discipline and disruption. Items pertaining to these latter problems filled the top ranks. The rundown condition of the building had not occurred overnight. There were veteran teachers with many years at the school; the adjustment was gradual, and for this reason, less stressful perhaps.

Once again, items related to the role expectations for teachers, "in-service meeting" (rank 29), "below average students" (rank 30), "grading" (rank 33), "talking to parents" (rank 35) were all clustered at the lowest end of the ranking scale.

TABLE 3
TESI Results: School #3

RANK	VARIABLE LABEL	(N=64) MEAN	S.D.
01	Involuntary Transfer	88.047	16.761
02	Notice of Unsatisfactory Performance	87.000	17.445
03	No Promotion	73.469	29.156
04	Personal Injury Threat	73.297	30.509
05	Disruptive Child	71.219	23.525
06	Colleague Assault	69.281	22.943
07	Overcrowded Classroom	66.844	21.207
08	Community Racial Issues	65.437	30.147
09	Preparing for a Strike	63.406	33.187
10	Verbal Abuse	63.047	26.006
11	Maintaining Self-Control When Angry	61.766	26.001
12	Disagreement with Supervisor	61.266	28.059
13	Supervising Outside the Classroom	60.359	24.477
14	Voluntary Transfer	60.281	35.264
15	Addition of Courses	59.766	28.397
16	Daily Lesson Plans	59.437	68.613
17	Lack of Supplies	57.672	27.161
18	Staff Racial Issues	57.625	36.358
19	Principal Intervention - Discipline	56.531	32.017
20	Student Racial Issues	56.078	27.795
21	Teaching Students with Physical or Mental Handicaps	55.984	32.011
22	Disagreement with Another Teacher	55.344	26.654
23	Implementing Curriculum	54.844	27.357
24	Change in Duties/Work Responsibilities	54.797	24.829
25	Reorganizing Classes	53.672	25.780
26	Research or Training Program from Outside the School	51.812	35.758
27	First Week of School	50.000	00.000
28	Lavatory Not Clean	49.656	26.374
29	In-Service Meetings	48.156	34.571
30	Teaching Below Average Students	45.984	25.903
31	Principal Conference	43.375	28.191
32	Paperwork	42.219	28.182
33	Grading	41.656	23.408
34	Students Whose Primary Language is Not English	37.953	26.248
35	Talking with Parents	34.234	21.591
36	Teacher-Parent Conferences	32.500	23.862

Case Study
School #4 - Elementary

Cosmology

School #4, an elementary school, houses students in Kindergarten through fifth grade. The school was built in 1971 and was considered to be in excellent condition. It was a carpeted, air-conditioned, two-story modular unit. The entire school plant was extremely clean. The newest addition to the school was a long awaited parking lot.

The school has capacity for 480 students. There were 30 employees working on the staff. Its vandalism rate was considered low, and there had been no grievances filed with the union during the last three years. Toward the end of the observation period, however, two teachers newly assigned to the school were reported to have gone to the district superintendent with complaints about the treatment that they received from the principal.

The immediate neighborhood of the school is 99% black. Almost half, about 48% of the people in the community were of low income. This number was based on the percentage of the school population from low income homes. The neighborhood had been in this condition for about fifteen years.

There were 18 teachers on the staff at the elementary school, approximately evenly divided according to race. All of the members of the teaching staff were women. The educational level of the teaching staff was 60% with B.A.s, 40% beyond. The principal, a white female, had been in the school for six years.

Total student enrollment was 456. The student body was 99% black. Average daily attendance at the school was 90%. The school had originally been opened as a branch to relieve overcrowded conditions at a nearby elementary school. The procedure used to determine the teachers that were to be transferred to the branch site was the source of conflict between the present principal of the elementary school and the teachers who were among those who were transferred.

The teachers who were interviewed agreed that the primary factor behind their selection was "the ability to perform their responsibilities without constant supervision." The teachers also agreed that those who were selected tended to be above average and self-motivating. However, according to the principal, the teachers were chosen because they were as she phrased it, "too independent." Later, she confided that what she had really heard was that they were "troublemakers" who the principal was "glad to get rid of." After the teachers were assigned to the branch, they were placed under the supervision of an assistant principal. When the elementary school was given independent status, the teachers had fully expected that the assistant principal would assume the principalship. However, this was not the case. The present principal was brought in to the disappointment of the teaching staff. This single incident has been the source of conflict between the principal

and staff since its inception. The principal stated that her primary goal was to establish some standard way of operating and to discourage everyone from doing her own thing her own way. The teachers claimed that her primary goal was and continued to be to break their spirit with strict discipline.

The view of the world as being ordered and structured was the key element in this school. Society is ordered, and in order to be successful in this society, the students must be responsible for their own actions.

The primary purpose of education according to several teachers was to prepare students to function successfully in this society. It was to this end that all energies were spent. Although this seemed to be the consensus, there was at least one teacher who rejected the narrowness that this educational purpose implies. According to one white female teacher, the curriculum leaned too heavily on "white middle-class educational values." This created a certain amount of distriess for this particular teacher. However, because of the generally shared purpose of education, an atmosphere exists where education is treated as serious business.

Whereas teachers saw no problem with the organization of the school for the students, they viewed the demands of the school structure as being less than optimum. They cited the intrusion and demands made by the principal and the auxiliary staff as being dysfunctional to the teaching process. Teachers also regarded the use of the public address system as the chief offender. One teacher who had just been interrupted by the P.A. system asked pointedly, "What is it 9:30 and I've already been buzzed three times? If you want to do something that will help, then do something about that thing." Some teachers regarded the intercom as an ally of the principal. During one interview session, one teacher cautioned, "I'll talk to you, but if I hear a click from that (pointing to the intercom), then I'm going to stop. I don't want the principal to 'accidentally' hear what I have to say."

Entry, exit and passing were accomplished in an orderly fashion with children forming lines outside until the entry bell was sounded. A teacher was on duty, as was the principal, who stood in the hall to greet the children. The exit process was accomplished much the same way with the principal stationed in the hall and each teacher escorting her class out of the school.

The relative tranquility experienced within the school was quite a contrast to the frequently non-tranquil world that could be found outside. The field researchers were given warnings about where to park and also what blocks to avoid. (This was the case until a long-awaited parking lot was completed.) A city lot near the school that was equipped with a basketball hoop was usually frequented by young people who seemed to be of school age. These young people were later identified as being formal and informal drop-outs from the local high school. The local high school was viewed as an intrusion into the tranquility of the school. The high school, located approximately 2 or 3 blocks away, had a gang activity that affected the school in two ways: 1) gang recruitment and 2) gang warfare that sometimes spilled into the neighborhood creating safety problems for the young elementary school clientele.

Beyond the uncertainty of the immediate neighborhood, there was also concern about what the demands of the new district superintendent would be. Many teachers were dismayed when one of the first orders handed down to teachers concerned the visibility and placement of the waste paper basket. They viewed this as being a portent of things to come. One teacher who was not allowed to wear her hat in the classroom after the entry bell (because the district superintendent did not approve) explained, "I use this hat and all my hats as educational tools. They help to set a mood. The kids come in, they see that the teacher has a funny hat on, they laugh and I laugh. We start the day out laughing. I think I ought to be able to wear hats if I think they are of some educational value." Later the district superintendent was to agree -- the order forbidding the wearing of hats after entry was rescinded.

The size of the physical plant created some distress for the teaching staff. There was very little privacy; this made the job of the field researchers (whose primary duty was to collect confidential information) extremely difficult. One incident that involved one of the field researchers will illustrate the premium placed on space. While trying to find a place to interview a teacher whose classroom was being used during her preparation period the field researcher decided to use the teachers' lounge. (The physical education classes were normally conducted either outdoors or in the All-Purpose room. However, in times of inclement weather and during lunch periods, roughly 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., these classes must be conducted in teachers' classrooms, which forced them to seek refuge elsewhere.) Half way through the interview, the door to the lounge swung open and a teacher stormed in and queried, "Do you realize that this is the only place in the school where we're allowed to smoke? You're supposed to be studying stress, not causing it. Do you realize how much stress you've just caused me?"

Throughout the remaining period of observation, the field researchers were acutely aware of the space limitations and the problems that could be created because of them.

Education, it was frequently stated, should be controlled by those who were directly involved. A certain amount of distress was mentioned when those who were not involved directly with education of students (the parents and administrators) intrude upon this process. Indeed, parents were rarely seen in the school. The only occasion on which parents were frequently seen was when children (Kindergarten age) were brought to school by parents. Teachers reported that they received the greatest amount of satisfaction when they were left alone to do what they had been trained to do -- teach.

Governance

The school was controlled by the principal. Her authoritarian style could be felt in all corners of the school. The door to the teachers' lounge was kept open because the principal desired it. Teachers agreed that she was without a doubt the undisputed leader within the school. This was achieved, according to teachers, by the use of "intimidation and implied threat" and "an unrelenting resolve to win in any confrontation." The

teachers agreed that there were no power groups that had any influence on the principal's decisions. Teachers felt that when they were asked for their opinions on issues, it was "pro forma" and that the principal had already made the decision.

The principal, on the other hand, emphasized that teachers often responded without having completely thought out the consequences of their alternatives and then were puzzled when their input was not used. The principal said that she is "not afraid to take the responsibility that goes along with making unpopular decisions."

Lesson plan books were collected every other week, and there was a standard format used. If the lesson plans were not turned in on time, the principal placed a memo in the teacher's mailbox requesting that it be submitted. If this request was not honored, the principal then made a verbal request.

There were few members of the faculty who felt the principal was open enough to approach with problems. Because of this, problems within the school were rarely formally addressed. Instead, they were hashed out in impromptu discussions around the duplicating machine.

Although there was an assistant principal she was not viewed as being an "important person" by the staff. Those mentioned most frequently as being important, other than the principal, were the school clerk and the custodian. The school clerk was important because, it was said, she often acted as an intermediary between angry parents and the principal. The custodian was important because he was the only one who could regulate classroom temperatures. The tale was often told by teachers of how the custodian was able to "socialize" a teacher who was too vocal by making her room very cold in the winter and very hot in the summer.

An incident that involved the janitor and also demonstrated what one teacher called the "apathy teachers have when it comes to standing up for their rights" occurred during an attempt by the union representative to mobilize the teachers to file a union grievance. The issue of the grievance was the condition of the physical plant. However, the consensus of the staff was that there were no complaints against the janitor <u>per se</u> but that the grievance procedure was being used in order to force the Board to review the janitorial staffing levels at this school. The custodial personnel had been cut for budgetary reasons. The story is told that for the first time in a long time, the teachers were united around an issue. However, the grievance, as well as the unit, collapsed when supposedly the principal started rumors that the white teachers were out "to get" the black janitor. After initially agreeing to sign the grievance, the black teachers refused.

There were rumblings that the principal had a "double standard" in that she was more critical of white teachers than she was of black teachers. The principal, it was said, also tended to favor blacks (teachers and parents) in controversies with whites. However, these episodes not withstanding, there was not evidence of a division along racial lines. There were teachers (black and white) who socialized outside and inside the school building.

Two teachers newly transferred to the school went to the district superintendent with complaints about the treatment they received from the principal. They reported that the response of the district superintendent was to try to get along with her. One teacher solved this problem by not returning to the school after the Christmas vacation and using a bank of 90 sick days that had accrued over the years. The other teacher simply did not have a plan nor the option of taking off and thereby opted out of the situation. (Her primary responsibility -- a school age son -- had also been a source of conflict between the principal and this teacher.)

Another teacher, when questioned about her options, stated that "If I don't get transferred to another school, then I'll just start a family sooner than planned. I know that sounds terrible, but I talked it over with my husband, and this is what we have decided to do. I'd like to have the extra money, but I just can't take it anymore." Interestingly enough, this teacher was one singled out by the principal as doing a "good" job. Another teacher nervously explained, "I've never been in a situation like this before in my life. I go home and tell my husband some of the things that go on here and he's just shocked. My son thinks I make a lot of it up."

Teachers described this school as a closed system where input, whether it comes from parents or teachers, is not valued, even if the impression generated is that it is sought. The decision-making power was central, and decisions were made by decree of the principal. Information flowed from the top down. The illusion of approachability not withstanding, teachers agreed that problems which arose were not taken directly to the principal. The primary method of communicating problems to the principal was through the grapevine, which most agreed tends to be inadequate at best.

Economics

There was muted disapproval with the way supplies and textbooks were ordered. The ordering of supplies was handled by the school clerk, and the textbooks were ordered by the Intensive Reading Improvement Program teacher (IRIP). The IRIP position was a source of conflict because some teachers saw it as a reward for loyalty to the principal. This position, because of budget cuts, was the only one besides the principal's that was a freed assignment (meaning no children were assigned to the classroom).

The disapproval was further exacerbated by a policy created by the principal that all teachers receive the same supplies and materials, from the color of the construction paper to the number of reams of duplicating paper. Some teachers felt that teachers who demonstrated loyalty to the principal were given more desirable colors of construction paper and greater access to supplies during periods other than those designated for supply distribution as rewards for their loyalty. The principal responded to the issue of supplies, "What am I supposed to do? You know the story, in October everybody wants black and orange construction paper and in December, everybody wants green and red. We only have a limited amount of materials. If I give all the black and orange paper to one or two teachers, then I'm showing favoritism. I won't do that. All teachers get the same amount,

that's the only fair way to do it. I know some teachers don't like it, but what else am I supposed to do?"

Teachers agreed that they should have a greater voice in the selection of materials and textbooks. Teachers frequently cited the $28 won for each teacher by the union as being a well needed resource, but they also agreed that it was unreasonable to assume that this amount could possibly be enough for an entire year.

There was also heated displeasure with the supplies available to the special education divisions. There were suspicions that someone (the principal, the district superintendent or the central administration) was using the funds for other educational purposes at the expense of the special education divisions. This, in turn, they felt, made their job that much more difficult and stressful. One teacher who had had a series of personal problems was afraid to approach the principal who she felt would use this information to impugn her character with other members of the faculty. Another teacher who was recently involved in the dispute with the district superintendent over hats, mentioned previously, was also reluctant to press this issue. One teacher related another issue related to supplies. She explained, "One time the principal accused me of being selfish and, through example, teaching my class to be selfish also. I think she thought I was hoarding paper or something. Well, anyway, I took all of the 'wonderful' construction paper that we get here and I put it in the teachers' lounge, with a note to the teachers to take whatever they wanted with my blessings. At the end of the day, every sheet of paper was still there."

The management and control of teacher time were also sources of conflict for teachers. The Board created these concerns by instituting a combination open campus/closed campus schedule. Teachers resented the Board making a decision to rescind this option without seeking the input of the two primary groups that would be affected by this decision -- parents and teachers. One teacher confided, "If this is how democracy works, I don't want any part of it. We (the parents and teachers) voted for open campus, then they took it away without explanation." The Board later rescinded this change in response to mounting resistance and criticism from parents and teachers.

Teachers also complained about the principal's decision to eliminate recess and also to use auxiliary personnel as substitute teachers, depriving them of their preparation periods. Both of these "breaks" provided needed time for teachers to be away from students for re-grouping and planning.

Most teachers observed had a system of reward that was used in the motivation of students. These rewards normally consisted of verbal praise; however, in some instances, candy was used.

The question of mobility and the continuing prospect of more teacher layoffs weighed heavily on most teachers' minds. With increased pressure to decrease the administrative staff, many teachers who had hoped to become part of the administrative staff were now having to re-evaluate their career goals. Because this was an experienced staff, few teachers were concerned about being laid off. However, there was a shared perception that no one

was immune from being affected by the budgetary problems that plagued the school system during this observation period.

The principal evaluated teachers on promptness, ability to control one's class, and the ability to produce acceptable achievement gain scores on the ITBS. Those teachers who did especially well with low-level students were given more "leeway," according to the principal. Those teachers who ran afoul of the rules and regulations were subject to numerous visits by the principal, a form of punishment according to teachers.

Technology

The teaching methods at this school are, for the most part, traditional. The curriculum placed a heavy emphasis on the "three R's," primarily reading. Part of this emphasis can be directly attributed to the fact that the principal has scheduled two mandatory sessions for reading instruction each day. Part also can be attirubted to the lack of high technology materials that have become commonplace in the educational arena today. What little audio-visual equipment there was became a source of conflict among teachers, who contended that it was used as a reward system by the principal to show favor toward selected teachers.

There was an attempt towards innovation in teaching by using a kind of deparmental/team-teaching approach in the intermediate grade level. This exception not withstanding, the school was organized very traditionally. The classes were self-contained, and reading was taught in groups.

There were "educational games" present, but they were not incorporated in the regular curriculum. Instead, they were often used to provide a needed break during the day, necessitated by the lack of a scheduled recess period. This school was a closed campus school (except for a brief period during the fall semester), and the principal felt that too much time would be wasted by providing a scheduled recess period. Closed campus means that teachers are virtually never separated from their students. Students cannot go outside of school grounds for lunch and remain the entire day in school.

The most educationally innovative aspect in the school centered around the system-wide Continuous Progress/Mastery Learning (CP/ML) program for reading instruction. The program's major features were that achievement of students was measured by the successful mastery of a specified sequential and cumulative set of skills designated by level (A-K), rather than grade level. Students were to learn at their own pace over the level continuum. Considerable record-keeping for individual students was required. This program had impact on both promotional policies and instruction. However, since its introduction into the system, it had been a source of conflict among the teachers, the administration and the union. Teachers were distressed about the increased paperwork and time that was required to use this curriculum innovation.

The issue of paperwork was not only limited to CP/ML. While preparing medical forms for student innoculations one teacher said, "I am not a nurse; if this child gets a shot he doesn't need, I don't really think it's my

fault." In addition to the paperwork involved in CP/ML and medical records, teachers also cited the clerical demands of attendance records, federal forms for meal subsidies, and more and more frequent head counts required by the Board to be used in staffing.

Also viewed with some puzzlement were the requirements of mainstreaming regarding both paperwork and the actual teaching of children with handicaps. One teacher said, pointing to a little girl, "She's BD/LD. What am I supposed to do with her? I'm working on a master's degree in special education, and I have a hard time trying to find enough time to devote to her."

Socialization Process

The socialization of the teaching staff to its responsibilities within the system were well attended to by the principal during in-service meetings held each year in the fall. Teachers were made aware of the steps that were necessary to remove a teacher for perceived incompetence. The requirements for this procedure being undertaken were a product of the union-board contract. It was interesting to note, however, that there had been only one teacher dismissed during the past eight years.

When the principal's norms were violated, negative sanctions were used. The primary negative sanction, according to teachers, was classroom visitations. Often some teachers reported classroom visitations of as many as five or six times in a single day for up to five consecutive days, as punishment for some perceived wrong. An episode that was witnessed by one field researcher will illustrate the teachers' perception of the use of classroom visitation by the principal as a negative sanction. At one faculty meeting, a teacher (one with whom the principal had had conflict over the years) came in late. The principal paused to allow the teacher time to reach her chair and then looked at the clock. The field researcher attending the meeting noticed that the teacher became visibly agitated. After the meeting, when questioned about the reason for her agitated state, the teacher responded, "Now she's going to be in my class all day." Indeed, the field researchers did observe that the principal was in and out of the teacher's classroom three times.

All classes visited said the pledge of allegiance to the flag before classes began. Teachers were expected to assign homework frequently. Teachers were also expected to contact parents if students did not complete homework assignments. However, all correspondence to parents had to first be approved by the principal to avoid "any surprises." This requirement was the source of some concern for teachers who contended that it didn't apply euqally to all. The suspicion was that the requirement wasn't as strict for black teachers as it was for white teachers. Extensive questioning of black teachers and white teachers seemed to support this perception of unequal treatment.

Values

The ability to be able to function in society was a primary value in this school. If one had the skills necessary to be self-sufficient,

teachers felt, one was valued. Therefore, those who could perform well were rewarded, and those who could not were rarely rewarded.

Cleanliness was also valued. One incident will illustrate the value placed on cleanliness in the elementary school. The school was a generally clean physical plant. However, on the first morning of observation in the school, the grass had not been cut, and one of the many bulletin boards in the halls was not complete.

During the first days of observation, the janitor noticed one of the field researchers taking notes about the exterior of the building and apologized for the condition of the grass, explaining that the lawn mower was being repaired. Later that same day, the principal also apologized for the state of the physical plant. However, the following morning, the grass had been cut, and the bulletin board was complete.

Order represented another value in this school. Students entered promptly in single file, boys in one line and girls in the other. Teachers were stationed outside of their classroom doors to monitor successful completion of this morning ritual. The principal, acting as a grande marshall, stood in the middle of the hall greeting her flock. The same kind of order was seen throughout the day. During the lunch period, teachers are told through written communication that students are to "enter the lunchroom in a clockwise fashion in order to reduce the incidence of clogging entrances and exits."

Sharing of both materials and intangibles was valued. One particularly distressing incident was related by a teacher accused by the principal of being selfish and passing along this same negative value to her class.

Being able to control one's class and to produce gains on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) is highly valued. However, if one can't control one's class and produce gains on the ITBS, then it was felt that it was better to be able to control one's class.

One of the disputed status symbols of the school is having access to the limited high technology equipment. Those teachers who had access to the equipment downplayed its status value. Those teachers who did not have access were certain of its value but claimed to have no interest in its use.

Social Organization

Groups in this school could roughly be drawn by marital status, geographic location, and indirectly by race. In a faculty of 18 that once was comprised of 17 females and one male, and later all females, a group formed by sex was an inevitability. There were no power groups present, and according to all observations and indications, teachers had little, if any, impact on the decisions of the principal.

It was noticed that teachers who were not married tended to interact with one another more often than they would with teachers who were married. It was also noticed that black teachers tended to interact with black

teachers and white teachers with white teachers. However, when questioned about the relevance of this observation, the teachers felt it was inaccurate. They explained that a lot of teachers car pool, and since the majority of blacks tended to live south and the majority of whites tended to live north, this observed pattern could be a result of geographical location rather than race.

There were few in-school gatherings. There was one described that used to be held during the Christmas holidays but was discontinued by the principal because the teachers refused to clean the room properly afterwards. The social committee was nearly inactive. The principal has now taken over the responsibilities of that almost defunct committee.

Teachers were responsible for handling discipline in their classrooms. Those teachers who were good disciplinarians were valued and respected by the principal. Those who were not good disciplinarians were not held in this high esteem. Although the use of corporal punishment was forbidden as a disciplinary tool, it was used and the hint of its use is always near the surface.

Language

In all of the classrooms observed, standard English was used and encouraged. There was general agreement by teachers that they may be unable to control the language spoken by their students when they were outside the classroom, but they can control the language inside the classroom. Language, it was agreed by all teachers, is important. There is no conflict or controversy over this.

There were, however, usages of language that caused some of the teachers considerable distress. The use by the principal of countless imperatives and demanding phrases like, "have to," "required," "must" were viewed unfavorably by the teachers, who secretly wished that the principal would instead ask for their cooperation in various ventures. Teachers responded that the principal "talks to us like children."

Stressors - School #4

Three primary categories of stressors were identified from case study data in the elementary school: Governance, Security and Budget-Related Issues.

Governance/Leadership

The single most important cause of stress in this category was the principal. Many teachers had vested in the female principal almost super-human qualities. They responded to these qualities accordingly:

- "I'll talk to you, but not in this school, she'll find out."

- "She never gives in, she always wins no matter how long it takes."

- "Don't let that soft voice fool you, she can be devastating if you cross her."

Many teachers felt that the principal was able to control the school because of 1) its size (there are only 18 teachers) and 2) its staff composition (all the teachers are female). The veracity of this was never verified. Field researchers concluded, however, that the atmosphere was indeed one of strict control and that much of this control emanated from the principal's office. Many teachers, for example, bridled under the principal's edict that all communication to parents be cleared through her office and bear her signature. The principal viewed this requirement as a necessary component for smooth operation and avoidance of surprises. She also thought this requirement was needed to monitor any potentially controversial notes sent by teachers to parents. The teachers saw this requirement as one more in a series of attempts to control their actions and influence their academic discretion.

Teachers also complained about certain discretionary decisions made by the principal. The most frequently cited example was the principal's insistence on eliminating outdoor recess. Many teachers felt that the "time away from children" was important both to the teachers and the students. They complained "that 10 minutes might not seem like a lot, but on a closed campus system and on days with no preparation periods, it is -- especially if you have to use the washroom." The principal feels, however, that 10 minutes for recess can easily be ballooned to 20 or more. The lost time is explained as "a luxury that simply cannot be afforded."

The administrator's decision-making process and its purported use of "input" from teachers was thought to be a "pro forma" sham with the principal seeking the opinions of teachers, but never really incorporating them. Most teachers agreed with a statement made by one of their colleagues: "Yes, she goes through the motions of asking for our input, but she already has her mind made up about what she is going to do."

Teachers stated they were also stressed because the principal made classroom evaluation visits primarily for punitive reasons, never for educational purposes.

There were some teachers, however, who even though they chaffed at some of the principal's demands, sympathized with her approach. There is considerable pressure in a small school, where the district superintendent is very demanding, where the Board is actively looking for schools to close, and when it is felt there is any hint of the slightest disruption or problem -- all could cause it to close.

Teachers also felt pressures from outside governance sources, primarily the appointment of a new district superintendent. Teachers wondered what the expectations of the newly appointed administrator would be. The consensus of opinion was that the new district superintendent "runs a much tighter ship than the other one."

Security

The issue of security was focused on the neighborhood surrounding the school. Inside of the school teachers seemed to feel relaxed and secure. Most doors to the classrooms were left unlocked and opened. The fears that teachers expressed about security (both to person and property), centered around the immediate neighborhood. All teachers were well versed in important geography of the neighborhood, "this block is O.K.; avoid that block at all cost." The anxiously awaited addition of a parking lot helped reduce some of these concerns, but the threat of physical injury/security still remained high. Located close to a high school with a very active gang population, teachers told tales of the fighting spilling over into the neighborhood, endangering both the students and teachers. This situation and the resultant stresses seemed to be a permanent part of the school climate.

As is the case with many issues in this school, teachers' thoughts about job security were influenced by the administrative style of the principal. It had become the norm for the principal to ask teachers who she felt were not "working out" to seek employment at another school. Teachers were aware of this and wondered if this year it would be their turn.

In addition to the effect the principal had on job security, the recent and continuing financial condition of the Board made it such that even teachers with 10 to 20+ years of service were concerned that they could be transferred at any time.

Budget-Related Issues

There were two areas that played a part in this category: 1) lack of supplies, and 2) condition of the physical plant. Teachers often lamented their inability to receive what they regarded as bare essentials to do their jobs. Listed among these essential items were duplicating paper, textbooks, art supplies, paper and pencils. Teachers also criticized the way the scarce supplies were distributed by the principal. The principal had made it a school policy that all teachers would receive the same amount and kind of supplies.

Because of recent budget cuts the number of custodians assigned to the elementary school had been reduced to one. The teachers seemed to agree that although the assigned custodian was trying his best, the school was simply understaffed. As a result, the state of the physical plant had declined considerably over previous years. The frequent presence of roaches and mice in the classroom was the primary complaint about the effects of the declining cleanliness of the physical plant.

TESI Data - School #4

Of the 18 teachers in the elementary school, 9 teachers completed the TESI for a return rate of 50 percent. Results are displayed in Table 4. Of the twelve highest ranked items, four deal with student issues.

"Disruptive children" (rank 4), " target of verbal abuse" (rank 9), "teaching below-average students" (rank 10) and "dealing with student racial issues" (rank 11) demonstrate the concern that teachers have regarding students in this school.

Security and safety of the surrounding neighborhood were also major concerns in this school. The high ranking of "dealing with community racial issues" (2) also suggests some uneasiness that many teachers have about interacting in the community.

Governance/Leadership was a major concern among the teachers. They blamed both local administration and central administration for many of their stressful feelings. "Overcrowded classrooms" (6), "disagreement with supervisor" (7), "involuntary transfer" (8), and "notice of unsatisfactory performance" (12) support the conclusion that governance is a critical stressor among teachers in this school.

The highest ranked item with a mean of 74.33 and a standard deviation of 24.1 was "lack of supplies," apparently indicating that of those teachers who responded to the TESI, there was agreement that this item was a major stressor in this school. The information in the case studies suggested that "notice of unsatisfactory performance" has a considerably lower mean of 59.44 but a considerably higher standard deviation of 44.472. The large standard deviation suggests a highly variable rating for this item, and this appears to be consistent with case study data.

In School #4 there were two groups -- an older more experienced group that had been assigned to the school since its opening, and a newer group that had been more recently assigned to the school. In this school, the newer teachers felt that they were subject to more class visitations. Having less experience in the school, they were probably less sure of the outcome of these class visitations. The older more experienced teachers, however, although still disdaining the class visitations, were more certain of their performance and having lived through the class visitations, were more certain of the possible outcomes.

Budget issues were especially important to teachers. They often complained about the impossibility of the job when there is no funding available to purchase "essentials." "Lack of supplies" (rank 1), "lack of promotion" (5), and "involuntary transfer" (8) support the position that budget issues are important to teachers in this school.

"Preparing for a strike" (rank 34) was somewhat of a puzzle. Considering the recent history of this public school system (2 strikes in 5 years), one would have expected that as a stressor among teachers, preparing for a strike would have been ranked much higher. The reason for this unexpected result is unclear. What can be concluded, however, at least in this school, is that preparing for a strike is one of the least stressful events that these teachers experience.

There are some other rather interesting anomalies in the moderately rated items (ranks 12-24). For example, "dealing with children whose language is not English" is ranked 15. However, in School #4 there are

no children for whom English is not their native tongue. Another example is the category of staff issues. Each teacher when questioned about the possible friction between the staff being related to race, denied its importance. Yet, "dealing with staff racial issues" is ranked relatively high at position 16.

However, the importance of these inconsistencies is considerably lessened when comparing what was identified in the case studies as a primary stressor (governance by the principal) and what stressor emerged from the TESI data (student issues). The question now becomes why? The only time that student issues were discussed was during interviews. It is the norm in the school that order, control, and discipline are expected and to behave contrary to that norm, and possibly be identified, was perhaps more than most teachers could allow. However, when faced with the anonymity that the TESI allowed, teachers were more likely to be candid about their concerns. This shows up in the fact that governance/leadership (the area identified in the case studies as being most stressful) is a close second to student issues. Apparently it is acceptable to complain about the principal, but not to admit to having problems with students. It could be the case that those teachers who were interviewed and observed were a different group from the group that chose to respond to the TESI. There is, however, no way to determine the part self-selection played in this issue.

During the interviews, teachers often lamented the demands that were required to successfully conduct the Continuous Progress/Mastery Learning program and to teach children with learning and behavior disorders. However, "implementing curriculum" (rank 20) and "teaching physically and mentally handicapped children" (rank 21), because of their low ranking, would seem to indicate that continuous progress/mastery learning and mainstreaming are not as stressful as would have been expected (i.e. at least in comparison with the other higher ranked items).

Finally, although during observation it seemed as if there was a racial split, most teachers attributed the appearance of a racial split to another less obvious cause (i.e. geographic location). However, in the TESI results, "staff racial issues" (rank 16), is rated relatively high, especially considering that teachers when questioned tended to disclaim the significance of race as an issue in the school.

TABLE 4
TESI Results: School #4

RANK	VARIABLE LABEL	(N=9) MEAN	S.D.
01	Lack of Supplies	74.333	24.095
02	Community Racial Issues	72.889	36.074
03	Personal Injury Threat	69.556	33.883
04	Disruptive Child	67.778	27.170
05	No Promotion	65.778	38.909
06	Overcrowded Classroom	64.000	36.249
07	Disagreement with Supervisor	62.778	38.415
08	Involuntary Transfer	61.667	46.233
09	Verbal Abuse	61.667	34.278
10	Teaching Below Average Students	61.111	24.847
11	Student Racial Issues	60.111	37.551
12	Notice of Unsatisfactory Performance	59.444	44.472
13	Colleague Assault	58.333	37.500
14	Principal Intervention - Discipline	57.222	37.509
15	Students Whose Primary Language is Not English	57.111	47.367
16	Staff Racial Issues	56.778	34.709
17	Paperwork	56.778	28.674
18	Lavatory Not Clean	56.333	32.783
19	Reorganization of Classes	54.444	27.323
20	Supervising Outside the Classroom	52.444	32.711
21	Implementing Curriculum	52.000	27.083
22	Teaching Students with Physical or Mental Handicaps	51.222	31.100
23	Talking with Parents	51.111	31.896
24	Research or Training Program from Outside the School	50.778	35.657
25	First Week of School	50.000	00.000
26	Principal Conference	48.333	32.307
27	Maintaining Self-Control When Angry	46.111	22.189
28	Teacher-Parent Conferences	44.444	32.639
29	Daily Lesson Plans	43.333	22.776
30	Disagreement with Another Teacher	43.333	33.166
31	Addition of Courses	42.778	33.177
32	Voluntary Transfer	41.889	36.971
33	Grading	41.667	25.981
34	Preparation for a Strike	40.556	34.136
35	Change in Duties/Work Responsibilities	38.889	20.276
36	In-Service Meetings	29.444	24.930

Case Study
School #5 - Upper Grade Center

Cosmology

School #5, the upper grade center, houses students in grades 5-8. The school was built in 1964 and was considered to be in structurally good condition according to city standards. However, the cleanliness of the physical plant both inside and out was a different story. There was no grass around the school grounds and the halls were frequently littered with paper and other rubbish.

The school has a capacity for 783 students. There were 46 employees working on the staff. Some graffiti and incidences of vandalism were obvious, even though the vandalism rate was considered medium by city standards. There have been no grievances filed with the teacher's union during the last year.

The immediate neighborhood of the school is 99% black, with approximately 70% of the community members at the low income level. This figure was based on the number of students from low income homes in the attendance area. The neighborhood has been in this condition for approximately 15 years.

There were 36 teachers on the staff. The majority of the teachers were black (56%). The staff had been relatively stable until the recent financial difficulties of the Board of Education. Sixty-seven percent of the teachers have at least 6-12 years of experience. The educational level of the teaching staff was 72% with B.A.'s and 28% beyond. The principal, a white male, has been in the school for six years.

The total student enrollment was 743 and declining. The eighth grade comprised about 300 of these students. The racial make-up of the upper grade center was about 99% black. Average daily attendance was approximately 90%.

Tensions between black and white teachers played an important role in shaping the view of the world in this school. These tensions often played a significant part in how faculty viewed their colleagues, as well as how they viewed themselves. One black teacher said, "When I first came here, I would speak to the white teachers and almost none would speak back. I began to wonder if there was something wrong with me. It was only after I spoke with other teachers that I discovered that this was just the way things were around here. I just was not prepared for this kind of environment." A white teacher who had been displaced from a position reasoned. "I would have never been moved by the principal if I had been black. He's a political animal, he responds to his major constituency."

Indeed, the principal was most pleased to report that he was selected by the community (over other black candidates) during the Chicago experiment in community involvement in principal selection. He boasted that he was chosen because the community knew he was a strict disciplinarian. During a

teachers' meeting he related the following incident that will illustrate his disciplinary style. He stated, "I was standing on the corner one day after school and this big hulking guy kept looking at me. Finally, he walked over to me and said, 'Aren't you _____?' Slowly, I responded that I was. He then said, 'Yea, I thought I remembered you. I used to be in one of your classes in junior high and you used to beat the ____ out of me. I work for the Post Office now, thanks a lot!' I know what they say about corporal punishment, but I'm telling you -- it works."

During one interview session the principal lamented the fact that the faculty had apparently become irreparably separated and that all school functions, like the annual Christmas party, were now held twice. Most blacks attend one, whites the other. Teachers' explanation for this, both black and white, centered around geographic location and convenience (black teachers tend to live south and white teachers tended to live north). The principal confided, "It's sad, but, you know, I've been around a long time and it just doesn't seem to work -- black teachers and white teachers. Anyway, I go to both parties and I always seem to have more fun at the black party than the white one. I don't know, the black teachers seem to be more relaxed -- let their hair down. Once I even had someone from the Human Relations department of the Board come in. It didn't help."

The view of the principal that blacks and whites couldn't get along was shared by various members of the faculty. They pointed, for example, to the seating pattern in the faculty lounge-cafeteria where black teachers sat in one section and white teachers sat in another. One teacher responded, "It wasn't always this way, we used to have three or four teachers, black and white, who sat in the middle, but they're all gone, got bumped."

Teachers saw the changeability of the principal as no small concern. The lack of cooperation and interaction between the black and white staff members, coupled with what was perceived to be sometimes punitive, sometimes preferential treatment of teachers, was also a source of concern.

The principal's sometimes punitive, sometimes preferential behavior was described by both black and white teachers. A few examples will serve as illustrations.

A white female teacher was told of her reassignment from the position of counselor to classroom teacher after the principal discovered that she was attending school in the evening. When asked for an explanation for this decision, the principal responded, "Well, you're going to school to become an accountant, you'll be leaving soon anyway, so it just seemed like the time to make the switch." Interestingly, at the time the change was made, the teacher was in the first year of a three-year evening program, and the change made was from a white female to a black male. This was not the only occasion that race was viewed as playing a part in teacher assignment.

On another occasion, it took the weight of the union to force the principal to change a decision that assigned a black male to a position that should have gone, according to board-union contract, to a white female.

When questioned about his decision the principal responded, "I wanted someone in the position who I felt was more in touch with the students than the other teacher. I knew I didn't stand a chance if the teacher took it all the way to the union and filed a grievance, but, I figured, what the hell, I'll give it my best shot. Unfortunately, she went to the union and I lost. The teacher I assigned to the position was doing a helluva job."

In still another example of this punitive/preferential policy, some teachers decried the extra preparation period that was given to one teacher who maintains the audio-visual equipment. One teacher responded, "We have never had enough A-V equipment that would require that much time. The only reason he has that extra period is because he is the union rep. and the principal wants to keep him happy so that he won't file any grievances."

Finally, there was one commonly-cited criticism of the principal by both black and white teachers that centered around the use of a teaching assistant principal as a freed assistant principal, necessitating an increase in the average number of students in certain classrooms. The principal responds, "Without him I don't know what I'd do. I let him handle all of that." The "that" the assistant principal handled is student discipline which incorporated heavy doses of corporal punishment that was not allowed according to Board guidelines.

Governance

Governance in this school can probably be best summed up by the description of the principal when asked about the nature of the school; he responded, "we're loose as a goose around here." And indeed, this seems to have been the case.

There were no formal structures or committees that attempted to involve teachers in decision-making processes. For example, the Professional Problems Committee (PPC) was not active. The PPC is a contractual body consisting of the principal, the union delegate, and other teachers elected by the faculty. This committee was formed in order to provide a formal network to ensure that school problems could be solved on site before the grievance procedure became necessary. The PPC contended that "A lot of times teachers just want to be left alone to teach." The principal contended that teachers "don't want to be involved in all the decisions I have to make everyday." Indeed, although the principal has an "open door" policy that allows teachers to enter at will, during time spent in the main office during observation periods, few teachers ever came in. Throughout observations in the teachers' cafeteria, the principal never came in to interact with any of the teachers. Indeed, this separation of "turf" was in evidence during the entire time of the observation period. The principal was seen only twice outside of the main office and only once above the first floor.

Lesson plan books were not collected, and as has been alluded to previously, classrooms were rarely visited. One teacher was critical of the practice. She said, "He (the principal) could do more to make some of the teachers better by collecting lesson plans but he doesn't. They (the

teachers) know that and they don't let you come in to observe them -- they aren't doing anything. You or anyone else can come into my classroom anytime you want. I'm a teacher and I always teach." Whether or not the reason she offered for the reluctance of certain teachers' involvement was accurate, it was a fact that many teachers declined to be observed. Also a fact was her claim that "she always teaches." Whenever she was observed (both scheduled and unscheduled periods), she and the students were involved in what appeared to be fruitful and productive work.

The assistant principal, who was formally assigned as a teaching assistant principal, through manipulations by the principal of scheduling and assignment, functioned as a freed assistant principal. He was viewed by many of the faculty as being an important person. This stature was provided him because of his functions as the unofficial school disciplinarian. Because he was frequently in the halls, his high visibility allowed him to intercede in many conflicts that would have otherwise gone to the principal for disposition.

Although most teachers felt that the principal could be approached with problems, they were uncertain that this really did any good. Some teachers joked privately that they were unsure whether decisions the principal made in the office would remain the same long enough for them to reach their classrooms. This perceived changeability of the principal and the nature of the school, in general, was a great source of distress for many teachers. One teacher phrased it in somewhat Dantesque terms. He said, "It seems that I can't plug into the school because someone is always moving the outlets."

Teachers' descriptions of the school portrayed a system where teacher input into problem-solving was minimal. They cited, as an example, an incident that occurred during a teachers' meeting. Sometime during the preceding school day, some teachers' cars had been vandalized during the time that the teachers' parking lot was not only supposed to be locked but also patrolled by a security guard (hired under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act). The teachers as a group were more animated and agitated than they had been during the entire observation period. This was not the first incident of this kind and the teachers, both black and white, were clearly upset.

The meeting, teachers report, (a field researcher was also present to witness this) began with some teachers requesting the opportunity to talk about what had happened the day before in the parking lot. The principal, agreeing that the issue was important, said that first he would like to talk about some information from the Board that had to be covered. After spending 25 minutes on what was termed "nothing" by certain teachers, he opened the discussion of the parking lot problem with what some teachers claimed was almost a prepared speech. With a perfect stroke of timing, by the time he had finished, the entry bell rang, the students were allowed to enter, and the meeting was adjourned. The only possible time for teacher input was during the first part of the meeting and at that time, it was shut down.

Decisions are made by the principal and assistant principal. It is proudly stated by both the assistant principal and principal that they make decisions "beforehand." It is only on certain rare occasions when a decision angers a member of the teaching staff that they may move away from a previous position.

Economics

Just as other schools experienced declining enrollments, so too has this junior high. To maintain the number of faculty, the principal had actively sought special education divisions which required fewer students and also brought in more funding. He stated, "we have 12 special education divisions, not counting the One Year Beyond program in the Annex." The "one year beyond program" is another of the auxiliary programs that the principal actively sought. This program is comprised of students who were unable to graduate from 8th grade because of low achievement test scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills and poor performance on the criterion-referenced test in the Continuous Progress/Mastery Learning Curriculum. One intrusion into the system that the principal was not pleased with, but recognized as a necessary evil, was the addition of fifth-grade students to what had been previously 6th, 7th and 8th grades only. As regards the 12 special education divisions, it should be noted that there was some questioning by the faculty about the evaluation method used to place children in special education divisions. Many doubted that there were really 12 divisions of children who fall under the special education umbrella.

The state of the physical plant was also a concern for teachers. One teacher explained, "This place is terrible. It used to be mopped and waxed twice a year, during Christmas and Spring breaks. But now with the budget cuts, it probably won't even get that. Still, it could be better than this." Indeed, on many occasions, there were candy and gum wrappers strewn throughout the halls and the floors were rarely swept and rarely mopped.

All areas in the school were touched by the financial troubles of the school system. Duplicating paper, a mainstay of many teachers' curriculum, was in exceedingly short supply. Other important supplies like construction paper, scissors and art materials in general were also very limited.

In order to raise money to enrich the school budget that was used primarily to replace lost, stolen or damaged books, a school-wide doughnut sale was held.

The distribution of personnel seemed capricious, for teachers were shuttled from school to school. In this school, two new teachers were reassigned due to a combination of shrinking enrollment and insufficient seniority -- both reassignments occurred in the middle of the year.

Because of further cutbacks in the CETA program and the probable loss of security aides, there was increasing concern that the security of the building and the school grounds would suffer.

It was interesting to observe the change in teacher attitude toward the financial crisis. The initial concern centered around the effects that these cuts would have on jobs and outrage at the lack of supplies. However, toward the conclusion of the observation period, there was almost weary acceptance of these circumstances and a pervasive sense of futility at showing either outrage or displeasure. Teachers seemed resigned to the reality that they had no control over allocation of goods and services.

Technology

There was evidence of high technology, such as reading machines and computerized learning-teaching equipment. These machines, however, were not used frequently. There was also a home economics program and a separate division that included a wood shop room. However, teachers relied primarily on the chalkboard and the use of duplicated work as a major tool of instruction. The curriculum was very heavily weighted toward the "3 R's" of reading and writing and arithmetic. Continuous Program/Mastery Learning (CP/ML) had been adopted as a major instructional strategy but was viewed by teachers as a constant source of annoyance and imposition. Because of this, it was used very little. For various reasons teachers have eschewed this curriculum in favor of a more traditional 3 R's or back to basics approach. Only a few teachers ordered and showed movies and slides that would tie into the curriculum.

Since this was a relatively new school, the desks were movable. However, most of the classrooms were organized with desks in rows, facing forward, the teacher's desk placed in front of the students.

Socialization Process

The primary method of providing information to the teachers was through the public address system. The principal made a series of announcements each morning. It was during this time that both teachers and students were given pertinent information for the day.

Other methods of information sharing were accomplished during faculty meetings that were held throughout the academic year.

The primary location for teacher interaction was the teachers' lounge-cafeteria. Before school, teachers met there to have breakfast. The conversations tended typically to center around current events. Rarely, unless questioned by one of the field researchers, were school or student-related items discussed. These social interactions would often continue well past 8:30 a.m. the time according to board-union agreement designated as a preparation period. Since the principal was never seen in the teachers' lounge, it was difficult to determine whether he was aware of this or not.

Each morning preceding the announcements by the principal, the students stood, said the pledge of allegiance, listened to or sang the National Anthem and "Lift Every Voice and Sing" (often referred to as the Negro National Anthem).

Because of its location, there were no local stores, neither chains nor a "Ma and Pa" variety. The school, however, had a machine which dispensed loose leaf paper, pencils, and pens to students at prices equal to those that would be found in local stores.

During lunch the principal, through manipulation and scheduling, allowed teachers to have a free lunch period. (This incidentally was not provided

for in the union-board agreement.) Officially the teachers' free lunch period was scheduled from 2:30 - 3:15 meaning that the teachers were supposed to eat with their students. Some teachers took this option, others did not.

Values

The fluidity observed in other areas discussed above could also be seen in the set of values that seemed to be present. There were few observable core values shared by significant portions of the teaching staff; the values one could identify depended upon which teachers were being observed.

A white female teacher demanded above all else "clarity in speech and expression." She said, "these kids need to learn how to speak up for themselves and be heard." In her classroom, the curriculum was heavily influenced by this desire and she depended heavily on oral work that entailed rapid fire question-and-answer drills.

A shop teacher (black and male) tried to equip each of his students with at least a basic familiarity with shop equipment that could be used as a trade if they continued in vocational education. According to him, "these kids haven't succeeded in reading, but if they can succeed in this, then maybe they'll be motivated to try to learn about reading. If I were really serious about teaching student vocational skills, I'd quit. This equipment that I have here is a joke. It's outdated, and the Board doesn't have enough money to order anymore."

The lack of overall administrative direction and resultant diverse set of teaching behaviors gave the sense of a lack of conformity among the teaching staff. Procedures were not routinized, thus, what was commonly valued was illusive. Teachers did appear to "do their own thing." To many, this atmosphere was unnerving. To fewer others, it was welcomed.

Social Organization

Everybody emphasized that they felt "on their own." Administration was characterized as "benign neglect." When something went wrong, teachers were always censured and blamed. Ties and communications were along racial lines, verily creating completely separate systems. Faculty or committee meetings on current problems, academic or otherwise, or for the formulation of policy are non-existent. The overriding concerns of teachers are with "security" or "discipline." The latter is in the hands of an assistant principal (black) whose stock in trade is suspension or the paddle. Counseling personnel is limited to clerical and paperwork on federally supported programs. The level of administrative-staff relations is indicated by the information that all teachers recommended all 8th graders for promotion. The principal took it upon himself to hold back over a hundred because they did not achieve the necessary sixth grade reading level. There are no forms or channels other than personal communication for teacher input on a staff basis. Black teachers think it okay for children to get corporal

punishment; the whites do not approve but do not "blow the whistle" on the procedure. Competent teachers, it was felt, decide to get out when it gets to them (if they can afford it) or plan for retirement, early if necessary, or prepare themselves for other careers. (One attends law school, another working in real estate.) Most try to create the bubble of a private sane world around themselves and pretend the rest of the school does not exist.

Language

Language at School #5 was standard English. Nevertheless, language was still a source of conflict and embarassment for some members of the teaching staff in this school.

There were times, for example, when the lack of teacher familiarity with the vernacular of this inner-city student population caused a relatively minor incident to escalate into a potentially major confrontation. An episode that occurred in this school will illustrate this claim.

At this school, teachers were assigned hall duty. Hall duty consists of standing in the hall at one's classroom door while students pass from one class to another. After the bell rings, teachers were expected to "sweep the halls" and make sure all students were in class. In this instance, there were still many students in the hall after the tardy bell had sounded (this unfortunately was not an infrequent occurrence). Seeing the students in the hall, a female teacher called down the hall to a female student:

Teacher: O'K. Helen, you heard the bell, get to class and stop playing in the hall.

Student: (Laughing) All right Miss Jones, cool out, I'm going.

Teacher: (Agitated) Don't tell me to wait, do what I tell you now! You heard the bell.

Student: Look, don't yell at me, you're not my mother and I'll go to class when I'm ready.

Teacher: (Talking calmly and closing classroom door) We'll see about that, won't we Miss Harris.

It is quite likely that had the teacher understood the phrase "cool out," the episode and its potential residue could have been avoided. After speaking with several students to determine the meaning of the phrase, it was concluded that when used, the phrase not only is not used to show belligerence, but quite frequently is used to show friendliness or affection. In this instance after talking to many students, it was concluded that the student involved in this episode was saying something like, "You're right Miss Jones, but you're overreacting. Take it easy, you know I'm going to class."

This statement is quite different from the (perceived) recalcitrance that the teacher thought she had witnessed and also quite different from the student's subsequent response.

There was, however, other instances where teachers spoke in the vernacular of their students. One teacher who had experienced this, refers to the language his class speaks as "inner-cityese" and tells of the embarassment that he has felt when on occasion he has used certain phrases like "you all" and "I be." He said that "phrases like this go over real big out there in suburbia. My friends say they never have to ask where I teach."

These two incidents clearly point to extremes. It is important to note that both teachers are white. The position taken by a number of black teachers was best summed up by a black female teacher. She said, "the only language that I will accept in class is standardized English. They (her students) have to compete out there in the white world, so they had better learn the language."

However, the "in class" distinction was an important one. On occasion some black teachers in informal situations (e.g., the teachers' lounge) displayed a kind of "bilingualism" during which time they would engage in a conversation with a white teacher using standard English, but once that exchange was completed and one with a black colleague was started, the pace, tone and inflection would change noticeably. This observation was corroborated by several white, as well as several black, teachers.

Stressors - School #5

In School #5 there were four categories of stressors identified by the field researchers during their observation period at the junior high school. They were 1) staff relations, 2) governance, 3) security, 4) budget issues.

Staff Relations

Referred to euphemistically as "strained staff relations," the primary conflict among the staff is racial. During the entire observation period, there were exceedingly few times that black and white teachers interacted either socially or professionally. During the breakfast and lunch periods black teachers sat at certain tables and white teachers sat at others. Newly assigned teachers to the school quickly became socialized as to which section of the cafeteria it would be appropriate to sit in. The racial breakdown in seating was also apparent during teachers' meetings. At this time there does not seem to be an attempt to mend this cleavage. Teachers now seem content with having separate social functions -- one attended primarily by blacks, the other primarily by whites.

Governance

Many teachers lay the blame for the racial division present in the school at the door of the principal. White teachers claim that his

preferential treatment of blacks has driven a wedge between the two factions that may never be removed. Interestingly enough, black teachers responded in much the same way. In addition to the issue of preferential treatment, teachers talk about not really "knowing what the principal wants." They complain that lesson plan books are not collected and that the way the principal arrives at evaluations of teachers is clearly a mystery. One teacher explained, "He (the principal) has never come into my room to observe me, yet, somehow he knows that I am a superior teacher."

Teachers were also puzzled at the way the principal made decisions and the limited amount of input that they had in these decisions.

Budget Issues

Like other schools in the system, the junior high school has experienced cuts in the budget. The addition of a fifth year program has changed the structure of the school curriculum. Previously, all classrooms were involved in departmental teaching, now there are self-contained classrooms. In addition, there have been cutbacks in the CETA budget resulting in the loss of security aides. Supplies (i.e. duplicating paper, construction paper, etc.) are also in extremely short supply. Because of the cutbacks in the janitorial staff, there were many teachers who were displeased with the state of the physical plant.

Security

The surrounding neighborhood plays an important part in the teachers' feelings about security. During the period that the field researchers were in the schools, there were frequent instances of theft and vandalism. One teacher refuses to drive his car to school, preferring to take public transportation. He explains, "It's not worth the hassle to drive and worry about your car in the lot. We had a security guard whose primary responsibility was to guard the playground. The only problem was that while he was on duty, somehow two cars were stolen."

Although teachers report few incidents of in-school violence, most of the doors to the classrooms were kept locked.

TESI Data - School #5

In School #5 there were four categories of stressors identified by the field researchers during their observation at the upper grade center. They were 1) staff relations, 2) governance/leadership, 3) security, and 4) budget issues.

The TESI was administered to 34 teachers. Of the 34 teachers who received the TESI, 30 completed and returned it for a return rate of 56%. Results are displayed on Table 5. In the case study of the upper grade center, the strain in staff relations was related to racial differences

among the teachers. The TESI item, "dealing with staff racial issues" was ranked 10th out of 36 and thus supports the case study information that staff racial issues were important in this school.

However, because the field researchers identified staff relations as one of the more stressful issues, one would have expected this item to have been ranked higher. In conversations, some teachers revealed an acceptance of the racial division that is present in School #5. One teacher's response serves as an adequate summary of the way many teachers felt about this issue. "Yes, I am aware of the racial division and it bothered me for a while, but now I keep to myself and don't bother anyone. I have all of my contacts outside of this school and when I'm in school, I stay in my room."

Other items designed to identify racial problems are, "dealing with community racial issues" (rank 15), and "student racial issues" (rank 18). Both of these items were ranked relatively low indicating that the primary stressors related to race come from within the staff itself rather than from the community or the students. Indeed, dealing with parents who are members of the community appeared to be the source of very little stress. For example, "talking with parents" (rank 33) and "teacher-parent conferences" (rank 36) were both ranked low by the responding teachers.

In this school, according to the case study, there was considerable concern over governance/leadership issues. As would be expected in the school at this time, the threat of involuntary transfer was the source of some concern for a majority of the teachers who responded to the TESI. Of the 36 items, "involuntary transfer" was ranked as the number one stressor in this school. However, because of the administrative style of the principal, there was concern that the way teachers would be selected to transfer could be influenced by considerations other than seniority. Although it is a budget issue in other schools, involuntary transfer in the upper grade center cannot be separated from issues of governance and leadership. Teachers reasoned that although budgetary concerns might force classroom closings, it was also the case that the principal's preferential/punitive style would influence his decisions concerning transfer. Another very similar issue, also strongly influenced by the principal, is "no promotion" which is ranked second by the teachers in the upper grade center.

There are other items that are categorized more easily into either governance/leadership or budget. "Reorganization of classes or program" (rank 4) and "notice of unsatisfactory performance" (rank 5) both are stressors that are related to the issue of governance/leadership. "Preparing for a strike" (rank 3) and "lack of availability of books and supplies" (rank 12) would both seem to be issues that are budget related.

Security issues were also a major concern for teachers in the case study. "Threat of personal injury" (rank 9) and "colleague assault" (rank 11), would seem to support the previous observation that security was a stressor for teachers in the upper grade center.

In addition to the stress that can be created by budget, governance/leadership, security, and staff relations issues, the TESI results also showed that students can be stressors for teachers. "Being a target of verbal abuse" (rank 6), "teaching in overcrowded classrooms" (rank 7), and "handling disruptive children" (rank 8) were student stressor issues ranked high by teachers. The strong showing of student issues was unexpected in that throughout the observation period, students were rarely mentioned as being stressors for teachers.

Finally, "teaching students whose language is not English" (rank 21) is an interesting anomaly. Because all of the students who attend the upper grade center are native-speaking Americans, one would expect that this potential stressor would be ranked extremely low. However, there are some teachers that ranked this item rather high. Perhaps what they regarded as "language not English" were the instances of slang and colloquialism that were referred to in the case study. Examples provided in the case study demonstrated rather clearly how this "language not English" could create stressors for some teachers in School #5.

TABLE 5
TESI Results: School #5

RANK	VARIABLE LABEL	(N=20) MEAN	S.D.
01	Involuntary Transfer	77.421	30.336
02	No Promotion	59.947	35.745
03	Preparation for a Strike	59.526	33.811
04	Reorganization of Classes	58.632	20.222
05	Notice of Unsatisfactory Performance	58.526	37.543
06	Verbal Abuse	58.474	32.521
07	Overcrowded Classroom	58.263	33.316
08	Disruptive Child	57.105	25.403
09	Personal Injury Threat	56.053	37.364
10	Staff Racial Issues	54.789	28.299
11	Colleague Assault	54.737	32.326
12	Lack of Supplies	52.105	26.369
13	Teaching Physically or Mentally Handicapped Children	51.684	46.743
14	Supervising Outside of Classroom	51.632	27.889
15	Community Racial Issues	50.053	34.722
16	First Week of School	50.000	00.000
17	Change in Duties/Work Responsibilities	48.947	26.383
18	Student Racial Issues	48.789	32.360
19	Disagreement with Another Teacher	47.474	29.703
20	Implementing Curriculum	46.895	25.131
21	Teaching Students Whose Primary Language is Not English	44.789	44.357
22	Lavatory Not Clean	43.737	32.409
23	Disagreement with Supervisor	43.474	29.876
24	Maintaining Self-Control When Angry	42.105	25.128
25	Teaching Below Average Students	40.263	27.862
26	Addition of Courses	37.789	36.739
27	Voluntary Transfer	37.053	38.708
28	Daily Lesson Plans	35.526	29.856
29	Grading	35.053	25.637
30	Paperwork	32.632	24.400
31	In-Service Meetings	28.684	28.521
32	Principal Conference	27.842	21.734
33	Talking with Parents	27.368	20.437
34	Principal Intervention - Discipline	27.158	28.297
35	Research or Training Program from Outside the School	21.368	25.000
36	Teacher-Parent Conferences	20.526	17.551

Case Study
School #6 - Secondary

Cosmology

School #6 serves students from ninth to twelfth grade. The present building has two parts, an academic and recreational structure, attached by tunnels. The high school has a capacity for 2,064 pupils and is in good condition. Based on observations, there was a moderate vandalism rate.

Previous to the erection of these buildings in 1972, the school was located about one mile away from the present site. The old building now serves as an elementary and middle school.

The present structure was opened as an experimental school in 1972. It is based on the "school within a school" concept. The plan is that four groups or "houses" of approximately 500 students and staff would comprise the school. Each group would have the advantages of a small school and also be able to share the facilities of a larger operation. There would be some shared activities and four separate dining areas. Each house would have a cross section of the student population in age and ability. Although when it was first opened many experimental and unique programs existed, because of budget cuts, this is no longer the case.

Of the students enrolled in the district, 70.6% are black, 4.6% are white and 24% are Hispanic. The community is primarily low income, with 77% of the public school children coming from families of low-income status. The community has remained stable with the present situation for about ten years. There has been more movement of Puerto Ricans into the district in the years the school has been open, but the black population has remained stable.

The teaching staff was composed of 40% minority, 60% white. More than half of the teachers, 58%, had at least 6-12 years experience. A similar percentage, 59% have attained a B.A., the remainder have gone beyond. There are 154 professional staff members at the school.

The principal has been in the school for five years. The school has had no grievances filed with the teachers' union for the last three years.

The total student enrollment was 2,224, with the following racial breakdown: white - 1.7%; black - 79%; Hispanic - 18.9%; Asian - .4%. The average daily attendance was approximately 82%. Services for students include a nurse, a social worker, special education and CETA.

The world view at this school was one of an island of tranquility, surrounded by a sea of turbulence. This picture was quite different from the one most teachers remembered before the current principal came into the school. The teachers who predated the present principal remembered a school that was out of control -- constant interruptions by students wandering in the halls, creating disturbances, and setting off false fire alarms. Teachers agree (both critics and supporters of the principal) that much of

the credit for maintaining calm, discipline, and order in the school must go directly to the present principal.

There is a strong sense of us (the school) against them (everyone else). This is primarily accomplished by requiring all members of the school community (students, as well as faculty and staff) to wear easily visible I.D. cards with pictures. Students who were not wearing I.D.s or did not have one were sent down to the attendance office for "blocking." Blocking consisted essentially of an in-school suspension whereby students were not allowed to attend classes until a parent or guardian could be contacted to come to school to reinstate the students. During this time these students would remain in the attendance office and would not be allowed to attend classes. This I.D. policy is often a source of conflict between students who don't want to wear the I.D. badge and teachers who must enforce it.

In reference to the I.D. policy, one teacher explained, "If you want to find one issue that all teachers support, then ask about the need for the I.D.s. The only problem might be that some teachers want it to be stricter. I'm sure you won't find a teacher who would recommend abandoning it. It's important to the school."

Entry was orderly with only those students who were wearing I.D. badges being allowed into the building. The entry process was conducted by two security officers hired under CETA funds and one Chicago police youth officer assigned to this school by the Chicago Police Department.

The presence of a police officer was not unusual in this setting. Increasingly, the resurgence of gang warfare between black and Hispanic gangs (in all combinations) has often created the need for the presence of law enforcement officials. The threat of gang warfare, although not viewed as physically dangerous by teachers, was still lamented because of the emotional effect it had on students (primarily freshmen and sophmores) who were the main targets during the gang recruitment periods. To avoid confrontations, many of these students would stay at home. Those students who were present would be visibly concerned and unable to concentrate. In previous years the school itself had been unable to avoid the outside gang problems from spilling into the school proper. However, this year as if in recognition of the school's place as an island of tranquility, the gang leaders agreed to regard School #6 as a "safety island" meaining that no gang warfare or recruiting would be conducted inside of the school. However, during one visitation period there were two separate shooting incidents just beyond the perimeters of the designated school boundaries. One teacher complained, "It breaks my heart. I have a freshman division and during the big gang recruitment periods (spring and fall), you can see the fear in their faces."

Governance

The administrative unit at this high school was comprised of a principal and three assistant principals. Each assistant principal had been assigned a different task. One assistant principal's primary responsibility was handling student discipline, another's was programming and scheduling of

classes. The third assistant's responsibility was not as easily identifiable, but his stationing in the Main Office seemed to imply that he functioned as the "acting principal" in the principal's absence. At one time, there were as many as five assistant principals, but because of recent budget cuts, the number has now been reduced to three.

There was an on-going conflict between certain members of the staff and the assistant principal in charge of discipline and the assistant principal in charge of programming. The primary source of concern about the assistant for discipline centered around his 1) perceived insensitivity to the classroom teacher; 2) his inconsistency in handling discipline; and 3) his allowing potentially disruptive parents to come to the teachers' rooms without prior warning or needed security. During an impromptu session (after a parent had disrupted a teacher's classroom and physically threatened her), a group of teachers discussed their primary grievances with the assistant principal. The interchange between him and the teachers was heated, frank, and candid. In his defense, the assistant principal responded that although it may appear he is insensitive to their problems, he thinks it is a matter of distance and that the teachers are too emotionally involved. Inconsistency, he said, was the nature of discipline; no two cases are alike. With respect to sending the potentially harmful parent to see the teacher, there was more to the incident than he could describe, but he hinted that there was a degree of "provocation" on the part of the teacher involved.

The complaint against the assistant principal in charge of programming and scheduling is more complex and controversial. The conflict centers around whether or not the school has enough qualified students to warrant the addition of an honors program that would present materials at an accelerated rate. The assistant principal in charge of programming insisted that there was no need for this and, therefore, in the school-wide schedule did not include a time for honors classes. However, teachers contended that there was a need and that they had actively recruited students who were academically qualified only to have their efforts sabotaged. This sabotage, they feel, speaks to a deeper issue that some teachers characterize as racism. They generally say with only slight variation "he looks at the students (poor blacks and Hispanics) and decides they couldn't possibly do honors work." It was interesting to note that most classes at School #6 were either basic or essential track with only a few regular divisions.

The principal also communicated some uneasiness with the performance of the assistant principals. In response to a question asking him to rate the assistant principals, he explained, "They (the assistant principals) were here when I got here. A good manager has to try to get as much out of his personnel as possible. I do the best I can with mine."

The principal, it was agreed, had done a remarkable job in "turning the school around." Even when there was criticism, it was always cloaked in an understanding "he is doing the best he can" phrasing. One criticism which really cannot be viewed as negative regards the fact that some black teachers felt that a white principal had brought the school as far along as possible. What is needed now is a black principal. When pushed for some form of explanation for the position, none were forthcoming.

The principal utilized the formal mechanisms of the Professional Problems Committee (PPC) rather extensively. There were regularly scheduled meetings of the PPC and active faculty involvement. However, even though the faculty was almost evenly split between black and white teachers, there were no black teachers on the PPC. What was reflected in black and white terms was an overwhelming majority of white representation of white administrators and teachers in the decision-making process. The union representative when questioned about this was confused and perplexed as to why this lack of black representatives was the case. However, toward the conclusion of the final observation period, a black union representative was elected changing this problem.

The principal, according to his own admission, tried to involve as many of the faculty as was feasible in the decision-making process. Throughout the observation period, it was noted that the principal was visible and accessible.

Although not considered part of the administrative hierarchy, there were departmental heads in each of the various academic/vocational areas who had some economic control over the ordering and distribution of books and supplies. The department heads were elected and received a reduced teaching load to allow time for their quasi-administrative functions.

Another administrative level that was the victim of budget cuts was that of House Head (for a more complete analysis of the house organization, please see Technology). These individuals were directly below the assistant principals in the hierarchy but above the department heads. As was commonly the case in this school system, whenever non-teaching assignments were given, there were cries that these positions were given to the principal's favorites.

The principal was able to delegate authority to his subordinates. He went out of his way to insure that the teachers were informed of decisions, especially those that could create distress for teachers who would be affected.

If he was unable to provide enough warning to teachers, he then passed along the decision as non-threateningly as possible. His main goal was to keep as much "administration" as possible out of the classroom so that teachers can teach.

In discussing how he handles the disciplining of teachers, the principal indicated that he never mentioned someone's shortcomings as a character deficit. Instead, he always emphasized how the deficient teacher was making it more difficult for his/her colleagues to accomplish their shared goals. It was through this method, he contended, that he invariably got the support of teachers and was able to diffuse situations that could have developed into issues viewed as pro or anti-administration.

A disciplinary procedure for students referred to as blocking was used frequently by the high school administration and staff. Blocking was a form of in-school suspension that could result from numerous offenses but was primarily limited to instances of students cutting classes and either forgetting or refusing to wear I.D. badges. Before a student could be

reinstated, a parent or guardian was required to come to school. Because of the frequency of the use of the blocking procedure, many parents were often seen in the building. Teachers complained that once the parents were in the school, they were allowed to interrupt the teaching process at will. Teachers also complained that some of the parents who were allowed to enter the classrooms unannounced were potentially violent and that there was often insufficient security available to insure their protection.

Economics

The school and its immediate surroundings reflected the present state of the Board's financial situation. The school grounds were littered with rubbish, especially with garbage cans that had not been emptied recently and were therefore overfilled to capacity. In some classrooms, shades were torn or missing altogether, causing periodic shifts as students attempted to move desks out of the path of the sun's glare. Windows that were cracked and otherwise would have been removed are now left cracked and boarded up because of the financial condition of the Board. Expensive video equipment that had been used extensively in a TV curriculum was no longer present, having been bumped during the staff cutbacks and other personnel changes.

To supplement the extra-curricular budget, student activity fees were exacted. A strong parent group that could have been helpful in fund-raising activities was missing -- there was no active PTA. In fact, parents were rarely seen on non-disciplinary issues.

The faculty was affected by the economic woes of the system in two ways: the perceived lack of mobility and the lack of supplies. The principal lamented the lack of mobility faced by about 20 of his best teachers who have taken the principal's exam. He stated "with principals and assistant principals being returned to the classroom, what hope do they have? It's almost futile."

Supplies, on the other hand, prompted an angry response from some teachers. Books and other supplies were requisitioned by the department heads. One department head related how a requisition for the purchase of a series of badly needed books was first turned down; then some nameless, faceless bureaucrat had approved a purchase of another unneeded book series. The department chairperson had no input as to which of the books would be ordered. That decision was made by someone "downtown."

In addition to the decisions made "downtown," the salaries of the people who make these decisions was also a very real source of concern. One teacher echoed the sentiment of others when she queried, "You want to know what bugs me? How much money does the new superintendent make, $115,000? What about her new deputy, about $80,000? Now add the ex-superintendent, what did they pay her to keep her mouth shut, about $125,000? Well, add all those salaries and you've got a lot of money. The problem is, that we can't even get napkins for the lunchroom. They ought to put the money where it belongs, in the schools."

Technology

In evidence at School #6 was some of the more sophisticated equipment that has become commonplace in many high schools throughout the country. There was a rather extensive supply of video equipment that was used for instruction and an in-school television station that provided instruction for students in video technology. However, much of the material now laid dormant because key components were in a state of disrepair and the increasingly shrinking budget provided no funds for reparation.

This high technology equipment, however, was not part of the everyday curriculum. The curriculum could be described as one of general studies or college preparatory. In a school where certain administrators claim there was no sufficient population of students to warrant the forming of an honors class, where there were only a few regular tracks and the majority of the students were either basics or essentials, the emphasis on the college-prep would seem inappropriate. Indeed, most teachers agreed that in this school and with this population, a vocational curriculum would more likely have fit the needs of the students. The present small vocational education program was woefully inadequate in serving the students. Teachers also felt that because of the school's reputation of being a dumping ground, the more academically able students went to neighboring schools. A teacher who had been at this school for quite a while said, "I can't blame the parents who sent their children elsewhere. I wouldn't want my child to go to a school like this, would you (looking at a field researcher)?"

One interesting curriculum experiment referred to as OMAT (one major at a time) attempted to salvage children of average ability, but who for one reason or another had problems with truancy and adjustment. These students were rotated every 10 weeks spending the entire 10 weeks in one subject area with one teacher (science, math, English, history). Teachers who were involved in this program area regret the apparent shift in emphasis from students with average ability to those who were both difficult discipline problems and had less than average ability. One teacher said, "It's difficult enough having the same group of students for a whole day without the added burden of having discipline problems on top of it. This is another program that they (the administration) are going to ruin."

The physical structure of the school has become a victim of the changing technology and resources of education. The structure of School #6 was developed with the house concept in mind. This concept was viewed as a way to allow a large school to be less cold and impersonal than it would otherwise. In the original design, it was expected that there would essentially be four separate faculties with four distinct student bodies. Expecting revenues to support this type of venture, there were also to be four libraries and four cafeterias. Each house was to be under the supervision of a house head who would function as a member of the administrative unit. Each student's picture I.D. designates the house to which he has been assigned.

However, the economic woes that have now beset the school system have significantly altered the concept. What was unaltered and indeed unalterable was the physical structure and design of the building. The cutbacks in the teaching staff have made it impossible to have sufficient faculty to staff

each house. Resources for library purchases have all but dried up, making it impossible to have a library for each of the four houses (there are now only two). The department head structure has also been eliminated. What started out as an innovative experiment has now been reduced basically to a traditional textbook, workbook, ditto machine approach to teaching. With this traditional educational approach comes the complaint by teachers of the increasing amount of time they must devote to paperwork. One teacher said, "I don't mind grading the kids' papers, that's part of the job. But if I see one more grid that I have to fill out and turn in by yesterday, I'll scream. I'm not a clerk and I'm not a secretary. What I am when I am left alone is a pretty good teacher. Ask around, paperwork is a really big problem around here."

Socialization Process

Evaluation of teachers was loosely structured. Although the assistant principals have been charged with the major responsibility for conducting the formal evaluation process, little evidence was present to suggest that the evaluation procedure was exhaustive. There was no attempt made to monitor the quality of instruction, either through periodic examination of lesson plans or frequent class visitations. The image that some teachers had of the school was one of a well-run school, but where little learning and little teaching was taking place. For some teachers, this was an uncomfortable situation, for others it was predictable, resulting from the Board's provision of an inappropriate curriculum for this specific student population.

Many teachers were dismayed that they now find themselves teaching at the high school level but in reality were forced to teach students at the third, fourth or fifth grade level. The reaction to this varied depending on the teacher. One teacher responded "who wouldn't like to have challenging students? But I made up my mind a long time ago that no matter what level they (the students) come in at, it is my job to move them as far along as I possibly can in the time they are with me." On the other hand, another teacher sighs, "I wasn't trained to teach kids at the elementary level. I don't know how to teach reading, and at the high school level, I don't think I should have to." However, one teacher confided, "Sure, I'm surprised sometimes at some of the things they don't know. But, I never let them know it."

Some data were quoted frequently about the number of graduates that go on to college. Depending on the speaker, this figure ranges from 50-75%. However, this figure, whether one accepts the 50% or 75% is misleading in two ways. First of all, there is no follow-up effort made to determine what schools they typically attend compared to the other schools in the area, nor is there any attempt to determine whether students who begin also graduate, be it from a two- or four-year college. Secondly, according to one teacher, only half of the incoming freshmen will be around for graduation four years hence.

Values

The primary value shared by all teachers, black and white, young and old, was the maintenance of order and structure. Order and discipline, however, were not valued for their own sake. Many teachers agreed that teaching these students in a well disciplined, ordered environment was difficult, but trying to teach in a non-disciplined environment would be impossible. There was, however, a conflicting perception as to the amount and quality of teaching that goes on by the faculty. Regrettably, it is in this instance that a degree of racial divisiveness appeared. Some black teachers, when asked about performance, pointed to teachers who were not able to control their classrooms sufficiently to teach. When challenged, they would respond that there were exceptions to the rule but that for the most part, the teachers they referred to were white. On the other hand, much the same could be said of the posture taken by some white teachers who claimed to have a stronger grasp of subject matter and refused to use some of the disciplinary tactics used by other teachers. These other teachers were, when identified, predominantly black.

Parents, it was felt, placed little stock and showed little interest in their children's education. They cited as evidence of this an incident that occurred during the second round of observations. The Board decided during that time that as of a certain date, children who had not received the required innoculations would be barred from school. However, after this date, almost one-third of the student body was refused admission, because as one teacher responded, "They and their parents haven't bothered to follow through. If they don't care about physical health, disease, and epidemics, then how can we expect them to care about their children's education?"

Social Organization

The size of the teaching staff allowed for the possibility of various social groupings. There were groups that were formed, it would seem, primarily along racial lines. However, there were also groups that were racially heterogenous with both black and white teachers interacting freely and unselfconsciously. Because of the nature of the high school, there were also groupings along subject matter specialties (i.e., business, math, etc.).

The social committee was inactive, and out-of-school socializing was done on an informal basis among the groups described above.

There was, however, a large amount of in-school teacher social interaction that took place during the assigned preparation periods and lunch period. During observation of these interactions, issues of education were rarely addressed.

One teacher, however, discussed what she peceived as the hypocrisy of the teaching staff. She explained, "on the one hand, they (teachers) tell students that they should try to get along with all different kinds of people. Then, however, they do just what they tell the students not to do -- form groups around something like race."

Language

Although there is a sizeable Hispanic population, there was very little evidence of language difficulty, and there were few bilingual programs. Teachers do not mention this as a problem that hinders their teaching.

Some teachers mentioned the use of obscenity and profanity by students as being potentially more distressful than the language difficulties, especially when these expressions were directed toward them. One teacher reported that she has a standard reply to these instances of verbal derision. The response is, "Well, I'll be one (whatever she is called), if you'll be one too." She claims this works with the students and that the incidents do not escalate.

The students call some teachers by their last names without the traditional Mr./Ms./Mrs. title affixed. However, during an observation period, when a student jokingly called a teacher by his first name, he was told not to do this.

There were few problems associated with what has become a bone of contention in some academic circles, the use and appropriateness of "black English" in the school setting since most now contend that standard English is what needs to be primarily emphasized.

However, the general difficulty with language in an academic setting could be inferred from the fact that the average reported reading level of the entering freshman class was at the 6th grade level.

Stressors - School #6

The analysis of the observations of the field researchers identified five categories of stressors: budget-related issues, student issues, parent issues, security and governance.

Student Issues

The student issues that played a significant part in creating stress for teachers were the threat of gang problems and the perceived lack of academic ability of the majority of students. Teachers often discussed the disruptions in school during gang recruitment drives and gang warfare. During gang warfare, some students who belong to rival factions were afraid to walk through various neighborhoods, thus increasing the rate of absenteeism and making it that much more difficult to conduct a class without having to schedule make-up periods.

The ability of students created a kind of distress because it downgraded the role that teachers had seen themselves in. The most frequent complaint was "I wasn't trained to have to teach reading at the fourth and fifth grade level." Teachers felt that the constant low ability of students is the result of other schools skimming the more able students and thus leaving the "bottom of the barrel" for the local high school.

Security

There were two security issues that affected the stress levels of the teachers at the high school: physical security (to self and property) and job security.

There was an awareness among many teachers that the threat and reality for potential physical danger was never very far away. Even though the atmosphere of the school appears to be calm, one critical incident could send the school reeling uncontrollably. One teacher, for example, talked about the time he tried to break up a fight during his hall duty and suffered bruised ribs while trying to stop it. In addition, another teacher spoke about a confrontation he had with a disgruntled student who was being encouraged by other students to strike the teacher. Finally, this awareness of physical danger was present because of the potential for spontaneous disruption by the students. One teacher told of a fight that took place in the classroom between two female students. One had a knife that had to be forcibly taken away. In the ensuing struggle, the teacher was almost wounded.

The issue of the security of personal property centers primarily around vandalism and theft that frequently occurred in the school parking lot. Teachers talked about such things as windshields being smashed and spare tires being slashed. Fears of being left alone also came out of these discussions. One teacher explained, "I dread the idea of coming out late one day and being marooned here with no way to get home."

Job security is an indirect cause of the concerns created by the somber financial woes of the Board of Education (see Budget-Related Problems). Although many of the staff are teachers with 10 or 15 years of service to their credit, they still feel that 1) they can be moved around indiscriminately and 2) those years of service mean nothing if the Board doesn't have enough money to pay them. The smooth and uneventful opening of schools on time this Fall has most likely gone a long way toward reducing at least one aspect of this perceived stress (i.e. income). However, the "indiscriminant" movement of teachers still remains a critical issue.

Governance

The primary source of stress in this category was caused by what teachers saw as an unresponsive group of assistant principals. The only time the principal's style was questioned was in relation to his ineffectiveness in getting "his" assistant principals to act more consistently with the wishes of the teachers. The principal is credited with running a tight ship and creating order out of disorder. The criticism of this approach centers around the limited view that implies that this is all that is needed. Teachers explain that they want a more academically-oriented approach to education, as well as a disciplinary one.

In addition to school site governance, the governance of the central administration and the Board of Education was also questioned. The primary question raised by many teachers was, "Why wasn't a school with a curriculum

that was a closer fit to the needs of these students built?" In addition, teachers questioned the necessity for duplicating their efforts in filling out seemingly useless and needless forms. They viewed the increased demand for paperwork as one of the most potentially debilitating aspects of teaching.

Budget-Related Problems

The budget-related problems affected teachers in two primary ways. In the first instance, there was the lack of funds needed to order books, purchase supplies and repair the rather expensive video equipment. In addition to these more predictable issues, another emerged that dealt with teacher mobility. Many teachers at the high school have between 10 and 20 years of service. They came into the system during a time of growth. At that time many felt they would someday become involved in the administration of schools. However, now the schools are not growing; they are in a period of retrenchment.

Because the student population is shrinking, there is an attempt by the central administration to cut back on administrative positions rather than increase them. The realization of the lack of mobility has an increasingly stressful effect on those teachers who early in their careers envisioned moving into administration.

Parent Issues

There seems to be considerable consensus among teachers that the indifference of the parents to the education of their children contributes significantly to the stress the teachers feel as they attempt to teach these children. Teachers also see that parents are allowed by the second level administrators (assistant principals) to interrupt the teaching process at any time. In addition, some parents, it is agreed, are potentially dangerous, and the administration is not seen as sensitive to concerns teachers have about these potentially dangerous and unruly parents.

TESI Data - School #6

In School #6 there were five categories of stressors identified by the field researchers during their observations at the secondary school. They were 1) budget-related issues, 2) student issues, 3) parent issues, 4) security and 5) governance/leadership.

The TESI was administered to 120 teachers. Of the 120 teachers who received the TESI, 67 completed and returned it for a return rate of 56%. Five of the twelve highest-rated items in the TESI support the contention that student-related issues are a primary concern of the teachers at this school (see Table 6). "Managing disruptive children" (rank 3), "threatened with personal injury" (rank 4), "overcrowded classrooms" (rank 8), "being the target of verbal abuse" (rank 9) and "teaching physically and mentally handicapped children" (rank 10) were the items that supported the conclusion that student-related issues were a major concern in this school.

Budget-related issues which most teachers agreed make their teaching jobs more difficult were also prominent TESI data. "Involuntary transfer" (rank 1), "lack of supplies" (rank 5), "denial of promotion" (rank 6), "preparing for a strike" (rank 7), and "reorganization of classroom" (rank 11) were the budget issues that were ranked highly on the TESI.

There is evidence to support teachers' concern with security. "Dealing with community racial issues" (rank 14) and "assault on colleagues" (rank 13) reflect the teachers' admitted concern for personal safety, both within the building and surrounding the school.

During interviews, it became expected that teachers would decry the low achievement of the majority of student population. In addition, the conflict between black and Latino gangs was also viewed with alarm. Therefore, it could be anticipated that items which asked about the relative stress that low student achievement and racial issues have on teachers would have been ranked high. However, this does not appear to be the case. "Teaching below-average students" and dealing with "student racial issues" were ranked numbers 15 and 16 respectively. Apparently these items pale in significance when compared to items that could potentially involve the safety of the teacher directly (i.e., "managing disruptive children" (rank 3), "threatened with personal injury" (rank 4).

That voluntary transfer should be rated number one in this school should come as no surprise. During the observation period this school system was in a state of flux due to budgetary concerns. The movement of teachers, although abated somewhat, continues to loom on the horizon and each new year brings the possibility of further budget cuts. However, for "notice of unsatisfactory performance" to be ranked second is clearly a puzzle. Most of the teachers admitted that lesson plans were not collected. They also admitted that class visitation and observation by either assistant principals or principal was virtually non-existent. Many of them confided that they are always puzzled at the way in which the annual ratings are determined. In addition, the principal stated during an interview that he had few incompetent teachers and that he was quite satisfied with his staff's performance. There is one possible explanation; the mystery surrounding the way teacher evaluations are arrived at could be the source of this stressor. Without standardized procedures, the superior teacher of this year could very well become the unsatisfactory teacher of next year, if evaluations are based on a set of unknown expectations and unknowable criteria.

The issue of expectations would seem to explain why items like "implementing Board of Education curriculum" (rank 24), "attending in-service meetings" (rank 36), "talking to parents" (rank 31) and "Teacher-Parent conferences" (rank 33) are ranked low. These items seem to be those that are within the role expectations of teachers. Items 31 and 33 are interesting because parents, in earlier discussions, had been the source of some stress for teachers. However, the low ranks of these items seem to indicate that the majority of teachers who responded do not view all parents as threats and intrusions and still place the expected interactions in a relatively non-stressful domain.

Finally, "preparing for a strike" (rank 7) is placed relatively high and is important for two reasons. A strike is a disruption, both in the educational process and the immediate financial well-being of the teachers. However, in this school which has a small, but vocal anti-union faction, frictions between these factions still exist. The prospect of driving the wedge deeper with new strikes must be viewed with alarm. Apparently it is by many teachers in the high school.

TABLE 6
TESI Results: School #6

RANK	VARIABLE LABEL	(N=67) MEAN	S.D.
01	Involuntary Transfer	79.154	33.691
02	Notice of Unsatisfactory Performance	77.492	32.409
03	Disruptive Child	68.969	28.066
04	Personal Injury Threat	68.262	33.258
05	Lack of Supplies	67.098	29.043
06	No Promotion	67.908	32.653
07	Preparing for a Strike	63.523	29.317
08	Overcrowded Classroom	62.462	30.412
09	Verbal Abuse	60.754	31.620
10	Teaching Physical or Mentally Handicapped Children	58.769	37.412
11	Reorganization of Class	56.708	24.119
12	Maintaining Self-Control When Angry	55.908	31.287
13	Colleague Assault	55.323	35.346
14	Community Racial Issues	55.185	34.621
15	Student Racial Issues	53.554	31.744
16	Teaching Below-Average Students	51.692	30.956
17	Supervising Outside of Classroom	51.015	31.812
18	Staff Racial Issues	50.677	31.504
19	Paperwork	50.415	32.629
20	Daily Lesson Plans	50.108	34.093
21	First Week of School	50.000	00.000
22	Disagreement with Supervisor	49.446	30.443
23	Change in Duties/Work Responsibilities	47.031	26.165
24	Implementing Curriculum	46.154	32.899
25	Principal Intervention - Discipline	45.508	32.348
26	Disagreement with Another Teacher	45.477	28.979
27	Lavatory Not Clean	44.892	32.170
28	Grading	44.308	32.550
29	Voluntary Transfer	41.462	37.564
30	Addition of Courses	41.246	36.468
31	Talking with Parents	39.908	30.589
32	Research or Training Program from Outside the School	39.000	33.423
33	Teacher-Parent Conferences	36.585	28.704
34	Teaching Students Whose Primary Language is Not English	36.554	30.232
35	Principal Conference	34.046	28.197
36	In-Service Meetings	29.862	26.629

Report of Interviews with Principals

Recent research on school effectiveness (Edmonds, 1980; Wynn, 1980; Shoemaker and Fraser, 1981) has emphasized the importance of the principal as a primary factor in the make-up of an effective school. The principal is the educational leader of the building and sets the tone for the climate within which teachers will operate. During this study, interaction with the six principals by the field researchers was ongoing and frequent. Each time they visited one of the schools, they had both formal and informal interactions with the principal. Yet, because of the importance of the principal to the school's operation and the need to clearly understand the principal's relationship to stressors in the building, one of the primary investigators -- in conjunction with other staff researchers -- conducted two extended interviews with each of the principals. Each interview was approximately one year apart, held in the Spring of 1980 and Spring of 1981. An unstructured format was utilized, with the session lasting about two hours, usually accompanied by a trip around the building and lunch with the principal. Several telephone conversations augmented each interview. In addition, each principal was given the Administrator's Events Stress Inventory (AESI), which was designed to gather principals' feelings about teacher stress and to validate the interview data.

Of the six principals interviewed in the study, five were male Caucasian, three were around 50 years old, one was 60 and one was 40. Four of the five males were married and the fifth had gone through a divorce during the year. The one female was Caucasian, unmarried, and in her mid-forties. All had academic work beyond the Masters degree and one held the doctorate. The female was the least experienced, as this was her first appointment as a principal. The males had from six to nine years in the leadership role at their current schools, and all had at least five years of previous administrative experience.

The interviews were generally conducted in the principal's office. In some instances, the primary investigator was joined by other researchers in the interview. The data are rich and only a brief summary is given here in response to major questions which are the focus of the research.

Elementary School #1: Mr. A

Mr. A had been at the school for over 15 years, more than half of which he spent as an assistant principal. When the local community board selected him to be the principal several years ago, he was appointed on an interim basis and served in this capacity for several years. In fact when the district office tried to remove him and reassign him to another school there were so many protests from the community and faculty that he was finally appointed the "permanent" principal of the school in 1981. The principal had recruited other district and city-wide programs to keep the school open in the face of declining enrollment in a changing neighborhood. "The graffiti on the outside building walls has increased greatly. The custodian union wants too much money to clean it . . . so several of the teachers and parents and I wanted to do it one day, but I was told not to . . . it bothers me, but . . ."

During the first visit in 1980, much of the conversation with Mr. A had to do with the future of the Special Education teachers, as described in the case study. The principal sympathized with the experienced teachers who were being asked to take an examination for certification and compete with college students "fresh out of the classroom who had just had the vocabulary and the textbook stuff. They (experienced teachers) should be grandfathered in; it is humiliating for them to have to take the exam . . . in some ways, the school system is being destroyed by the federal government . . . the teachers were not well trained (to implement mainstreaming) . . . the special classrooms do a good job. We have 10 classes of special education kids and they get a good program . . . but few of the mainstreamed ones at the second or third grade make it." In the ensuing year the school became the district's early childhood remediation program headquarters and acquired five special classes from the district.

The principal indicated during the first visit that the school was stable with many teachers having more than 25 years' experience, most of them in the building. But there was concern about job security and bumping with the declining enrollment in 1980. By the Spring of 1981, the special education teachers who were to have been displaced in 1980 were not; jobs were available; the enrollment had gone up in the K-6 regular programs; and the special programs, though separate, were using the building. So in the Spring of 1981, Mr. A said, "morale is good, the staff is satisfied. The new programs, particularly that Academy one, have given the school a good image in the community. There is still a problem with the security in the schoolyard and the methadone clinic nearby -- we have had meetings and to avoid trouble, they (undesirable adults) leave the schoolyard when the kids are there . . . but it belongs to the park district and we do not have total control, so as soon as the kids stop using the yard, they are back."

"Job security is not a major problem. I have an older faculty . . . the tolerance rate is a problem . . . teachers working with a different population of children . . . economic survival is important to these kids and teachers have to learn to use this in their everyday lessons. Teachers have to excite the children and plan and be innovative and work with parents. Teachers are doing a good job . . . I have a good relationship with my staff, I talk to them rather than writing memos or letters. I deal with them as colleagues who share mutual responsibility for the children."

In some ways there is a contradiction in Mr. A's attitude toward the professionalism of the teachers, for although he describes them as colleagues, he sees his role as that of a "buffer" -- one who protects them from a large bureaucracy. "Why should the teachers be burdened with administrivia and dealing with the district office? I do these things for them. I make those decisions because the classroom is hard work." In response to a comment about the principal as an instructional supervisor, Mr. A indicated, "Visiting classrooms is not so important as it is supposed to be . . . to be the master teacher supervisor is not possible . . . there is no time for visiting classrooms. I spend one hour in the morning touring the building and all I have time for is to stop in and say hello. I have faith and trust in my faculty and I believe they are professionals and I treat them as professionals . . . I collect their plan books four or five times a year, and one month I ask

them to send me a set of written papers, compositions, from their classes, the next month a set of math papers, which I review . . . I am always welcome in their classrooms and, if necessary, I will talk privately with a teacher who has a problem in a clinical supervision role.

"This used to be a silk stocking district, but that is changing . . . some teachers still remember the strike of 1969. Before that time, there were lots of parties, but it is difficult to get people together or to stay around after school and so it is not done now.

"My job is to be a buffer, an interpreter, to make sense of the system for my staff . . . they are my responsibility and I will protect them . . . deal with their problems and serve as a link between the teachers and the supervisors from the district office and protect the teachers from attack. No one has a right to attack my staff without coming to me. Teachers are entitled to respect. They are trying and are on the firing line."

"There is greater stability in this system because of the slower movement up the career ladder and even from school to school. Also, the principals are unionized and so there is no merit pay."

At the conclusion of the final interview, Mr. A was asked where he saw himself five years from now. "I see myself right here. I don't want to go on into a supervisor's job. But I think you should not overuse the office of the principal. Teachers should use their common sense and not lose their 'cool' in working with the kids. We are in a service industry with psychic rewards, and there is something very nice about working with children. But we have to have achievement and accountability. Teachers should make more efforts to work with kids and not worry about coping with the top (the bureaucracy). I give attention to them and talk to the teachers . . . I try to praise them for the things they do well . . . people who ask will get help in dealing with a problem child . . . I maintain an open door policy and work with parents. We need to re-examine ourselves and our values."

This brief extract of the hours of conversation with the principal reveals him to be a supportive, democratic administrator with some paternalistic, protective tendencies. He was generally non-directive in his dealings with his staff. He indicated that his probationary period was still in effect because of the delay in appointing him to the regular position of principal. He was genuinely concerned about the physical and job security of his building staff and tried in many ways to enhance their status as classroom teachers. Although he tried to provide amenities in the building such as lounges, etc., he did not concern himself much with the friendship patterns or social interactions of the faculty. Interestingly, many of his teachers, as described in the case study, would have preferred a more directive approach on the part of the principal, and his style did allow for certain problems to flourish.

Junior High School #2: Mr. B

This principal is the youngest of the group and was a teacher at the school before he became the principal. He is an energetic, somewhat brusque

man who has a variety of outside interests such as computers, a small import-export business, and educational consulting. He teaches at least one computer course each term in the early period of the day. His school has been referred to as "an island of sanity in a neighborhood decimated by drug abuse, poverty and violence . . . known city-wide for its excellent science programs, and (Mr. B's) computer courses are a vital part of this." (Thomas Keener, "Shopping for Technology," Electronic Learning, September/ October, 1981, pp. 31 and 58.)

On the first visit in the Spring of 1980, Mr. B was in the middle of student suspensions and spoke forcefully of the complicated procedure which did little to correct problems. "One to two percent of the kids are incorrigible, but the rest can be worked with if you are willing to take the time. The size of this school is good, manageable, but the paperwork is terrible. Control is maintained, but the police do not support us . . . last week a security guard was hit by a flying door knob . . . we need a parking lot, parking in this area is worth your life. The panels in the stairwells are out and people can throw things . . . there is no intercom system. But physical attack and the need to use physical force in the building is rare. The kids are demonstrative (friendly and affectionate) and the whites on the faculty are accepted. Anything goes in this neighborhood . . . we are near the theatre district and people are pretty openminded . . . our students respond to adult supervision."

In talking about the problems faced by the staff, Mr. B spoke of the need to improve the image of teachers and schools. "Mayor _____ is a mean person. According to him all city workers are lazy and of low status. We need a little pat on the head from time to time . . . the union leaders are not very helpful because they trade money for a bad press. We have had a bad press for a long time. The union should hire a public relations person to improve the image of the dedicated teacher. They look at the reading scores, not at the composite of things and then publish things which are bad . . . we don't value children enough in our society. We don't pay teachers enough.

"The system gets no input from teachers . . . they (the teachers) get the crap, never the credit . . . Nobody every compliments you for the good things, the overtime, cleaning the rooms.

"There are some who come into teaching for the pension . . . you can get it at 55, but that still leaves 25 years of nothing in the classroom, so you have to structure things for the do-nothings and be sure they follow the plan.

"I go out and raise money for the school. We have assemblies every week. Tomorrow we have an awards assembly. But I run a 'tight' school. Most of the teachers are TESL (bilingual) teachers because a nearby high school took all the kids from the white community."

During the tour of the building, Mr. B pointed out the dreadful physical condition but emphasized again and again that he had clear expectations which he communicated regularly to the teachers to maintain order

and to teach and, "for the most part, they do." He ran most things "by the book," but he also felt that the students in this school needed an "edge" -- control, discipline -- "a special skill to make it." The experimentation in programs was more suited to the Annex Program which he also supervised. This was 1980.

A year later, with a successful computer program in place and some hope that the building would be rehabilitated, an MBO program operational, and the neighborhood changing to one attractive to middle class singles, thus beginning to drive the older Hispanic families out, what had changed? "The courts still do not enforce the truancy laws and this is still a violent neighborhood. We still haggle over the union-negotiated class size and I have had six grievances -- all on class size. The faculty just don't have the energy to fix up social occasions during the year. I have an aging faculty with most over 40 and one-third over 50. Volunteerism for extra activities is among the young faculty (5 or 6 people). Our absentee rate has gone down from 9% to 2.5% in 1980.

"It seems to me that few people will become teachers in the future because of the low pay, or if they do, they will just hang around until they 'vest' and give minimal service . . . so you get low morale among the old timers and high morale with the young faculty. I try to give them all positive feedback. This year we have parties about once a month which one female faculty and one male faculty member plan. Most of them come; I always go, and we communicate. As for job security, it is not a given in teaching."

Mr. B felt that his role was to be an "advocate" for the teacher and the student. "An officer has to watch his troops. Those who say they are advocates should buffer and explain, like when a new superintendent comes in from the private system with good will, but the political currents and conditions and his views of the schools are too negative and not realistic. Then the principal has to give psychic rewards and status jobs (to his staff) and give them the freedom to experiment and get intrinsic and hueristic rewards.

"In five years this place will be torn down, but now the achievement is pretty good and we have some good programs. But anyone (teacher) who cannot cut it should try something else."

On his stress survey instrument, this principal wrote, "Most of the above (stressful items) come with the 'territory'. Situations with potential for stress or conflict are old hat and have been experienced previously, consequently the turf has been previously covered and is less stressful. Teachers work in lonely confined situations. Their circumstances have built-in stress producers. Low pay, low status, imprisonment in a classroom, a feeling of lack of support and empathy, and lack of promotional opportunity don't help to lessen stress."

Finally, Mr. B concluded, "Teachers have to feel good about their work with kids. That is what I try to do in this building."

The principal in School #2 felt that he was an advocate for his faculty, and that there was the need for control, order and clear expectations for teacher behavior including rewards and sanctions. When he walked the halls, he monitored, inspected, supervised, challenged and also greeted students, faculty and parents. The location of the school and the age of the student population were the cause for much of this posture. Several faculty indicated that while they appreciated his "running a tight ship" and respected the fact that he taught classes. they would have appreciated more visible and frequent praise. But most teachers in this building felt physically secure and knew if they performed "by the book," their principal would preserve their jobs. And as described in the case study, a small group of teachers resented the principal, found his approach biased and unfair, and as a result of their actions, created some disharmony among faculty.

High School #3: Mr. C

The principal of this large high school has been in his position for nine years. Before that time, he had spent eight years as Dean of Boys at another school in the area. He spoke of taking early retirement in two years at the age of 62. The first visit was made in June, 1980, two days after "the riot." The incident was precipitated by a fight between a black student and a white youth outside the building on the local subway platform. One of the youths was knifed and hospitalized. The day after the fight, the tense atmosphere between white and black students erupted in the school lunchroom and was sufficiently threatening to close the school before noon. Police were called. Teachers, security personnel and counselors talked with the groups of largely Italian youth congregating around the building in cars and on the sidewalk persuading them to disperse. The black students, all of whom were from outside the immediate area, were escorted to local transportation by police and selected security personnel and were whisked out of the neighborhood. The incident occurred just before final exam week, which meant that the week of the first visits, the students were not in school all day, but reported on a schedule for specific exams.

The principal had been ill during the events described above and his administrative cadre of assistant principals, department chairmen and the head of security managed the difficulty. Several discussions were held with cabinet members. Naturally, everyone talked with mentioned "the riot" and described their role in the event. They also described under what authority they assumed the responsibility for decision-making. The Head of Security (also the Math Department Chairman) was a major actor in the peace-keeping events of the previous days. During the course of a three-hour interview in 1980. he spoke affectionately of the kids: "They are street-wise, and though verbal assaults are common, they are just a reflection of the neighborhood language . . . physical action is rare. The basic problems with our kids is their low aspiration level . . . they are parochial and have low skills in research and information processing . . . it's nuts to think one school board can run 100 high schools . . . they give us whimsical directions."

As he described the administrative structure, he spoke critically of the teacher MBO system described earlier: "You can't take a business system and transfer it wholesale to education as a lay-on with no educational foundation . . . to treat all schools in the system the same is foolish and no panacea, and I told Mr. C so." He indicated that he had had many conversations with Mr. C about the career move he was planning to make into administration. He had been encouraged by the principal and been given opportunities to gain administrative experience. Recently though, he was reconsidering his decision to stay in education. "Most men are looking for a way out, across the board. The problems are low salaries . . . after a big investment in education and preparation and you can't even earn a living. Now, the benefits are being cut, and I see an increase of violence and strife. That racial incident made the kids afraid. At the administrative cabinet meeting we discussed this, and you cannot have civilization and culture without safety and security . . . education cannot take place in fear. Mr. C agrees. End of the year disturbances are expected, but this one was unusual."

Three other administrators said much the same thing with the additional remark that "dedicated faculty are not too easy to get, especially those who will do after-school sponsor work. We have lost a lot of young faculty and the old-time faculty members are apathetic and this filters down to the kids."

When asked to distinguish between old-time and young faculty, neither age nor experience were the consistent characteristic variables, except for the fact that the old-time faculty had been in the school more than seven years, but so had most, not all, of the younger faculty. When asked if these old-time faculty had been energetic when they first came to the school, again the answers were inconsistent -- some had and some had not. Seemingly, the only common characteristic among the old-time faculty was their apathy, for they were neither older, nor more experienced than the "energetic younger faculty." "Young" was synonymous with anyone who demonstrated energetic dedication to the students. But again and again the phrase "we need more young people to do things" was repeated.

During the first visit, one investigator had lunch with several of the administrators in the faculty dining room and was approached by a female teacher with: "Are you from the Board of Education?" Before a reply could be mounted, she waved what she called a receipt written on a sheet torn from an old desk calendar. "See, see, this is what I got for my report on my sabbatical leave! I sweated blood over that report and took it down to _____ (Central Office) myself and this is what I got from the dummy in charge. No one will ever read it; I'm not important enough. I've taken enough grief from the _____ (Central Office) this year to live on for the rest of my life!" Obviously, this teacher felt a loss of status at this treatment by a functionary who was holding up her paycheck until the report was turned in.

Conversation around the lunch table returned to the "little altercation" and one of the administrators said, "I think part of it is mainstreaming. Mainstreaming is the death of public education. This year there is a kind of undertow of hostility and anger . . . this area, not the neighborhood but the school, has been integrated for 15 years . . . now there is something more."

"There is a lack of communication between the black and the white kids . . . we put too much emphasis on academics, and you can't have academics without security," said the Head of Security.

"Kids are maleable . . . that is our job, to mold them," said a guidance counselor.

"I know it was outsiders who came in to incite the riots" offered one of the administrative assistant principals. This was greeted with a chorus of "nos" and followed by, "No one in this building is a symbol of authority."

"The principal is a good guy, but he is a PR man."

"Too many kids are H.O. . . . that means hanging out. It's just too loose, and no one tells the kids to go to class. We leaders have not shaken off the trauma of the '60s and we still fear a group of kids."

During discussions with the principal, he praised the actions of his administrative cadre during his absence and indicated that they were in touch with him by phone, and he agreed with all of their decisions. "We could not wait for the central office to make a decision to close the school . . . we were on the spot and we made the decision . . . the right decision, because no one got hurt and there was minimal property damage."

It is interesting to note that the items perceived as most stressful by this principal were implementing policies for the handicapped (mainstreaming), dealing with the unsatisfactory performance of a professional staff member, forcing the resignation or dismissal of a teacher, handling a fight among students on campus and serious vandalism to the building, and preparing for a teachers' strike. Among the least stressful items for Mr. C were disagreements with superiors, conflict among staff members and legal action against the school. He also indicated that many of the items on the administrator's scale were not applicable to a school in a large centralized system.

There were no further incidents or violent episodes in the school, such as the one experienced in 1980, during the tenure of this project. The next interview session, almost one year later, lasted for about three hours, including lunch, and incorporated many of the items talked about in phone conversations. Mr. C felt that "teaching is stressful because of the lack of fiscal security and the low salaries . . . some of my best people are talking about leaving because of this." He described in some detail the procedures and obstacles involved with becoming an administrator in the system. In addition to the experience requirements, there was a four-step examination involving written, oral and simulation tests. He cited the large number who had taken the last examination and indicated that less than 100 qualified. "But, it probably won't be valid, because I hear that no minorities passed."

"I think that it is important for the principal to put together a good team that has collegiality and can work together. I have good assistant principals, the best in the system. There are 11 assistant principals in

this school, two for administration and the rest are supervision; the department chairmen are assistant principals and these are the members of my cabinet. We meet once a month. I have a 'kitchen cabinet;' the two administration assistant principals and I meet more often. But these roles are all advisory to me. I make the decisions, delegate the authority and expect the job to be done."

When asked what he thought his role was, Mr. C said, "The role of the principal is to facilitate education any way he can. If that means fighting with the Central Office, then I fight. What are they going to do to me? I can retire in two years and teach at a university. I have been teaching administration courses at _____ for several years, so what can they do to me?

"A principal has to help his administrators develop coping strategies and they should help the teachers to do the same thing. I buffer and explain things.

"I would never want to leave here. . . . my good friends are here . . . we are doing a good job and the kids are learning. Ninety-three percent of our graduates go on to some kind of post-secondary education . . . I'm proud of the bilingual Italian program. I really had to fight for it, but it is a model program and, for me, it was a labor of love.

"The principal has to be an advocate not just for the faculty or the kids, but the principal has to be an advocate for the rational and the legal. I must abide by the terms of the contract . . . I will fight in the gray areas. But that is what it means to be a professional.

"I was proud to be a teacher. When I was a teacher, we had status. Teachers are not as proud as they used to be, and parents and kids no longer look up to them . . . it is different now.

"The best advice I can give any beginning administrator is to develop a good sense of humor, maintain perspective, be rational and get a good group of assistants."

Mr. C created a middle level of management to deal directly with the staff in his building. Upon investigation, it was determined that other high schools in the system did not have the extensive management cadre visible in this school. Authority was delegated to the quasi-administrative group by the principal, and, consequently, the locus of responsibility was diffuse. Teachers in the school felt very far removed from the principal, some even indicating that he was unaware of their problems or just didn't care. The department chairmen seemed able to influence more directly teachers' feelings of status and security than did the principal.

Elementary School #4: Ms. D

The principal of this small elementary school was in her sixth year of service at the school during the study. This was her first administrative

assignment after passing the written and oral examinaton for the principalship. She was considered an effective administrator by the district and central office supervisors. She was an unmarried white woman in her early forties, articulate, well-organized and conscious of her superiors' evaluation of her work. She had post-graduate work beyond her masters and continued her professional activities. Upward mobility was a clear goal for Ms. D. During the first visit in June of 1980, the principal conducted a tour of the neat, attractive site and spoke of the dreadful condition of the building when she took over. Herculean efforts were expended on efforts to "clean up the mess and bring some order to the chaos." "Because the faculty had come from _____ (another school) to this branch, and there was no real principal in the building, they did whatever they pleased. There were no schedules or procedures or checking on the instructional program. I had to do all of this.

"There is a lot of street gang activity in this area . . . we have been trying to get the lot next door for a parking lot, but so far no luck . . . there has been some vandalism to individual cars, but the building has been secure and there is just a little graffiti on the outside walls." Ms. D pointed out that the external doors were well guarded to prevent intruders from entering.

"Job security is something else. No one can guarantee you a job these days. When I took the principals' exam (written and oral) almost eight years ago, they had just changed it. Before then, those who passed were listed in order to their scores, and there was a kind of hierarchy depending on the date and your score on the exam . . . that is how people got assigned to schools. I had to be interviewed by the community council and wait until they decided they wanted me." Ms. D indicated that she had been interviewed by several groups before being selected by the current school council and confirmed by the district office and the central board. "Principals should have more control over who gets assigned to their schools. Some teachers don't fit into a building."

Ms. D spoke with pride of the gains made in the installation of the system-mandated instructional strategy in her building. "It took a lot of hard work and visiting classrooms, but most of the teachers know they had better use the mastery learning approach sooner or later." There was more professionalism when I was in the classroom . . . I have some good teachers, but . . ."

Ms. D never responded to any of the written instruments completed by the other administrators, although she indicated she would be willing to do so. Of all the administrators, she was the most skeptical of the research itself and initially of the field researchers. Ultimately, a positive relationship was developed and in several phone conversations during the year, she spoke highly of one of the field researchers, of his sensitivity and perception. She was much concerned about whether her supervisor had been informed of visits, instrument distribution, talking with faculty and interviews with her. Naturally, the research team informed her supervisor of all activities, which ultimately allayed some of her concerns.

Several times, Ms. D spoke of the "bumping" and how this exacerbated racial and other tensions among the staff. "If the 'bumping' were done along racial lines for integration, this would make sense and most teachers understood the first shake-up two years ago. But it is this double 'bumping' which is a problem. I have no control over this, but the teachers think that I do . . . actually, I have little local discretion." It should be remembered that the faculty is totally female. "When the ladies ask me about summer school and Title I positions, I can't answer because we don't get word until the second week of June about the positions. If our enrollment goes down, somebody has to go." "I know that a Board (central office) directive cannot resolve the conflict between going by-the-book and an individual's needs. . . Even for those who are dedicated, there is frustration and anxiety . . . absenteeism is high and we get very few subs."

The second visit, for almost a full day, was made in late May of 1981. Again the building was toured, without the principal, after a three-hour interview in her office. Some of the same problems were still with the school: gangs, uncertainty about enrollment, "bumping," some racial tension, loss of paraprofessional staff. "I have been forced to organize for next year on the basis of no security aides . . . the three that we had were reassigned and gang activity has increased, even though we got our parking lot. I have paired rooms, because of lack of security . . . also, the enrollment is down and I may lose positions. I have been preparing people, but I'm not sure of the effect. Communication is the key . . . experienced people can swing with the punches . . . if they run out of money and close the schools, this is beyond local control . . . they (the teachers) must be aware of what is happening and that I can't do anything to offset the _____ (central office)." Ms. D did not see herself in the role of buffer, interpreter or advocate. Rather, she tried to prepare her staff for the logical consequences of central office policy, but it was up to each teacher to be responsible for her own destiny.

"The calibre of the parents in this neighborhood is going down . . . some (of the parents) neglect children and abuse them . . . We now have the Vicelords, Disciples and El Rukins operating around a nearby high school . . . I will have fewer teachers in the building except for the Special Education classes with a 10 to 1 ratio."

Ms. D again spoke of her career aspirations and indicated that she was chairperson of a high-powered planning committee for the district appointed by the superintendent. "Moving up in the system is hard. Look what they did with the principal's exam . . . (the system had just declared the last examination void) there is now a ceiling on career mobility . . . there was a formal structure before and it is just not good for one's self-confidence.

It took me some time, but we have good discipline in the building now. The preparation periods are 40 minutes and we review procedures and routines, classroom management. Supervision skills are important for me. These are the things a principal should do and a good support staff helps . . . There is some level of racial isolation, but I am blind when I organize the building and assign people to classes . . . part of the morale thing is the lack of career aspirations among the teachers.

"Absenteeism is about the same; there is one room with a 'revolving door' teacher . . . there is one teacher I am getting ready to 'give the business to.' Her relationship with the kids is terrible; I think she is suffering from culture shock and so she will be 'monitored.'"

Ms. D spoke of the uncertainty with which she has to work. Allocations for supplies, positions and paraprofessional support are still announced at the very last minute, challenging the administrator to do rational organizational planning. "I try to do things by-the-book, but so many things are beyond my control . . . the non-fiscal things are the union items like class size. It seems to me that security and status for teachers are being threatened by conflicting groups."

As she described the role of the principal in her system, she frequently used the terms "beyond my control" and "by-the-book." "I am the one who punishes the faculty . . . when something happens and a teacher doesn't get something, she looks at me and says, 'she took it away from me' . . . but the central office is responsible for the decision-making. I am not responsible for decision-making. We are being forgotten at the local level." This principal felt that she had to emphasize her supervision skills because she had a stable, experienced faculty who would respect an instructional leader and "because there will still be musical chairs (with faculty positions) because of school closings."

No grievances had been filed against the principal at this school, and the principal indicated that she and her staff got on fairly well and that faculty morale "went in cycles." "We always have a year-end luncheon which is held on records' day and it is well attended." No other formal social events among the faculty were mentioned by the principal.

Ms. D was a well-organized principal who looked to her superiors for decisions that she would then implement at the local level. She would use negative sanctions against those teachers whose performance and behavior did not meet her exacting standards. Ms. D was both the source of satisfaction and discontent in the building.

Junior High School #5: Mr. E

Mr. E, like his counterpart at the other junior high school, had outside interests. He worked on a regular basis several hours each day for a suburban school system in an administrative capacity. During the year of the study, he went through a divorce. Mr. E was 51 years old, white, and had 14 years of administrative experience. He reported he had been the principal of this junior high school for nine years. From his perspective, job security was the most stressful issue confronting the teachers in the school. The first visit to the site was made in June of 1980. During that interview the principal said, "Stress for teachers? . . . city-wide cuts in the budget, that's what causes stress . . . it's not the kids. The kids are okay."

After the initial tour of the school, which was in relatively good shape, the lunchroom was visited. The principal did not accompany the investigator. There were racially isolated tables. Upon returning to the

office, the principal was asked about the racial separation among the faculty. "Yes, there is black-white separation, but you will find this in most schools in this area. I don't know about schools all over the city, but it has to do with the 'bumping' and who crossed the picket line in the last strike. We had a lot of teachers who crossed . . . but we get along fine with the union and I have not had any grievances filed." The assumption was that little could be done by the principal to bridge the gap between the groups. "My big problem is teachers who don't pull their load and what to do with them . . . you can't get rid of them . . . so I try to put them where they will do the least harm." He then praised several members of the faculty who were "pulling their loads" and brought two faculty members in to meet the investigator -- the union representative and the assistant principal. "They are the guys who get it done and who I count on." Clearly, these two individuals did influence the principal's decisions.

In a written response, Mr. E indicated that the items which caused him the most concern, which were congruent with those he felt most stressful to his staff, were forced reduction of staff, serious vandalism to the building, forcing the resignation or dismissal of a teacher and dealing with pupil enrollment decline. From his vantage, the first week of the school year was minimally stressful, with "some minor problems, but everyone is fresh and full of ideas."

He spoke of the unusual structural arrangements for this junior high or upper grade center and his concern about maintaining enrollment by recruiting special education and vocational skill classes, not unlike Mr. A in one of the elementary schools. He also spoke of the "flattening of the career ladder for incoming teachers."

During the course of the first visit, several parents came into the outer office and the principal excused himself and attended to their requests. He had a good relationship with two of the parents who knew him and had come to school to see about problems with their children. Coming back into the office, he said, "That last parent, her boy got beaten on the way home. We need more security in the area and in the building. There is a lack of adults. For a while we had parents as volunteers, but then we were told we could not do that unless they went through some examination or something at the central office, so we don't have them any more . . . these parents aren't going to take a test to help the school on their own time. Gang recruitment in our area is up."

The recent extended interview was held in May of 1981 at which time Mr. E predicted, "There will be a strike in the fall (Fall, 1981) . . . the people in the union and the Board are 'hard-liners' . . . that makes everyone feel insecure . . . Dr. X (the superintendent) and Mr. Y (the union president) both have reputations as 'hard-liners' . . . there will be a strike in the fall." Mr. E indicated that he felt some concern, which he had shared with his staff, about the enrollment for the next school year.

Teachers were asked to state their preferences for the next year's classes and the principal incorporated this into his schedule, which he tried to announce in June before school closed. He felt this knowledge and input

told teachers he respected their preferences and reduced their anxiety about teaching assignments. "But I never really know if the schedule I make out in June is going to be any good in September; too many things can change it."

Mr. E felt that the central system and the advent of a new superintendent put a lot of mental stress on teachers. "I try to act as a buffer, to communicate with them and to keep them up to date about what is happening . . . I have had no grievances and the union's professional problems' committee did not request a meeting all year . . . I have the same faculty, and I try to get each floor working together . . . I think the principals in this system are demoralized, not just the teachers . . . the principals' exam was thrown out, there will be no summer school (meaning no opportunity to earn additional money), there are money problems and racial tensions and all this stuff (mastery learning) coming down from the central office." Mr. E also indicated that his personal situation was distressing, but that he could cope with his divorce. What he had difficulty with were the directives coming from above. "Leave us alone and let us do it and we will do it." This phrase encapsulates his attitude toward his faculty in many ways.

In terms of faculty supervision, Mr. E reported that he "visits every teacher twice a year to evaluate and then has a supervisory interview." He provided the investigator with the evaluation form he uses during the visits. "There are no teachers now who I would fire. Some have weaknesses and they are working on those." The central office policy for teacher removal for incompetence was not effective anyway in the view of Mr. E. He was proud of his good relationships with the community and felt this was part of the role of principal.

"Each teacher should have a style and a feeling for teaching . . . they should like kids and establish rapport. That is how you get discipline in the classroom . . . it's terrible, but we have no supplies for the instructional program. I have used my own money and so have the teachers, and a candy sale made about $3,200 for necessary items.

"You asked about teachers' morale, but how about my morale and status. I need two things for my morale, a reading specialist and a freed assistant principal to improve my morale . . . the teachers need help in the classroom and a preparation period every day. Now they have only three a week and with this new mastery learning . . . if they had one preparation period a day and an aide in the classroom and working machines (duplicating machines), morale would be boosted 500%."

Mr. E indicated that he did not do formal "thank yous" for his staff, but said his thanks informally over a drink. He felt he had a good relationship with his staff. But he would not, if he had to do it again, become a principal.

"If I had to give advice to prospective administrators, I'd say don't come to _____ if you are white, because the Hispanics are being promoted. The blacks are suffering too." Mr. E then pointed out that as graduation speakers, he had asked and obtained the services of three well-known blacks in the community, a clergyman, a state legislator and an official of the Board of Education.

"I think an administrator needs a healthy dose of common sense, a strong commitment and dedication to the job . . . I don't think teachers are that committed any more. Teachers are going to school less than they used to. Maybe because there is no visible career ladder in the system. That is why I keep my options open and work in _____(the suburban system). This gives me some security in case things go wrong here." Mr. E saw no contradiction between his requirement for a strong commitment by an administrator and his working part-time in another system.

When asked where he wanted to be in five years, Mr. E said, "I'd like to stay as principal of this school. I don't want a high school, they go night and day, and I don't want to be district superintendent . . . "

Mr. E felt that the status of the professional educator was diminished by the "flattening of the career ladder. It has put a cap on aspirations so that they (teachers) are saying, 'I am not a worthy professional.' There are no non-classroom roles they can aspire to."

Mr. E went to some length to describe the level of social interaction among the faculty in light of the racial separation, noted earlier, the separate parties, year-end events, etc. Under the relaxed manner and rather laissez faire atmosphere exuded by Mr. E there was a discernible level of tension. For example, it was difficult for him to sit still for more than a few minutes at a time and focus on a point. It was very important for him to be liked by his faculty, or certain members of his faculty, and this topic recurred several times during the course of the interviews. "I don't issue directives or bulletins. Teachers know what they should do, and when they don't do it, then they hear from me."

High School #6: Dr. F

This 49-year-old white male administrator with 14 years of administrative experience has been principal of this "experimental" high school for six years. The first thing one noticed was his size and rather viking-like appearance. While the other male principals were taller than average, or at least gave that impression, this man, although soft-spoken, presented a commanding presence. He was an articulate spokesman for the school and the faculty during the first visit in June of 1980. At that time, there was much concern about the city-wide budget cuts which translated, at the local level, into the loss of several of the administrators of the small "houses" or schools within the school. Dr. F feared that he would lose the four administrators who served as the supervisors of each of the houses and retain only the three assistant principals in the areas of administration, discipline, and scheduling. Upon the return visit in June of 1981, that is precisely what happened, increasing the security problems within the building.

Dr. F felt that the events which proved most stressful for his staff were first, job security, and, second, physical security. As indicated earlier, the school was set in the middle of an area frequented by warring gangs, vandals, and bloody conflicts between groups of black and Hispanic youth. Although security in the building was good, among the items this

principal felt were most stressful for him, the first was assault upon a staff member, followed by refusal of a teacher to follow policies and the act of forcing the resignation or dismissal of a teacher. Least stressful were a central office decision to close a school, fight among students on campus and a student expulsion hearing.

"We have worked hard to get the gang leaders to agree that _____ (School #6) was neutral territory, so there have been very few fights in the building in the last several years . . . there is probably some extortion and recruiting going on in the washrooms; we cannot patrol every corner of the building . . . but it sure is better than it was six years ago.

"The Professional Problems Committee works closely with the administration to try and solve school-wide problems, but we need more faculty involvement. I've been considering setting up some task forces to look at the need for more communication among faculty . . . it won't necessarily solve problems, but at least it will get them aired . . . We still have racial separation among the faculty, but I think some things can be done to bring people together over common tasks. It will never be the same as it was before 1968, but then what will ever be the same?

"Some of the lack of interaction has to do with the way in which teachers came in the system which just happened to be connected to race. But if you look at the record, just as many white teachers came in under the new _____ (non-examination, experiential certification). The difference is that more black and other minority teachers than ever before came into the system under the new plan. It seems to me that teacher professionalism was compromised by group differentiated certification. One group was labeled as more qualified and one group was labeled as less qualified on the basis of no evidence, just the differences in the groups. Many of my (new plan) teachers have a sensitivity to the needs of the students and are able to relate to the kids in most areas just as well as, sometimes better than, the (old plan) teachers . . . Teachers have no external status system, or I don't have any knowledge of any, so they create in-school status systems . . . At least the principals have a principal's club where we can play those games."

After a tour around the building, concluding in the faculty lunchroom, one of the assistant principals sat with the investigator and talked for some time. The racial separation was noticeable at the lunchtables but was not absolute. There was one faculty group lunching and meeting at the same time and this group was mixed. The assistant principal indicated that this was part of the Professional Problems Committee, "which was always meeting about something." The assistant principal felt that the principal was doing a good job, but that he was much too available to faculty for "any little thing they wanted -- some stuff was just nonsense." He was concerned with the coming cuts and that the principal would not conserve his precious time.

During the first visit, the principal provided copies of the school paper, yearbook and other documents which indicated how well the students were doing. "This faculty is amazing. With all they have to put up with, they still do great things with the kids . . . of course, there are always

one or two rotten apples in the barrel. I am in the process of 'documenting' one right now. This guy has been absent almost 40 days, and when he does come in, he may or may not decide to teach. I have done the classroom visits required and given the notices and held conferences, but they (the central office) will not get rid of him. I got him on an administrative transfer from another school, but he will be with us next year. Sometimes it is hopeless. But I have to do it for the sake of the good teachers who do work so hard."

During the second longer visit in June, 1981, the principal again expressed concern for ways to recognize and reward his good faculty. "They need status, a recognition that they can handle situations, that they do have good classroom management skills, that they are bright people and relate well to students, that they are energetic (and that has nothing to do with age) . . . that they can build a reputation for respect among the students. They need to be rewarded when they volunteer for extra-curricular activities. As a principal, I can give reasonable administrative awards, a personal thank you, recognition, attention and warmth in our relationship, but that is not enough. So we have public ceremonies, certificates for perfect attendance for the teachers and the students. 'Pats' from the principal are sometimes more important than anything . . . I can give flexibility in scheduling (for those who perform well) to meet personal needs.

"So, I do not hassle them if they leave early one day, I know they will more than make up the time . . . but I also do not like to be taken advantage of and I will tell them if they do . . . the system works on respect and dignity."

Dr. F felt that an important component of the role of the principal was to take special interest in the needs of the faculty and take personal interest in their concerns. "They have to know that we (administrators) care and that they are important people. That is why we maintain such tight security measures . . . 50% of the time we have a positive school climate and a good esprit de corps with cooperative faculty."

The school operated on a "closed campus" schedule, which the principal felt was "the key to establishing a good climate in an inner-city school with gangs." Other variables were good cooperation with the police, keeping the students in the building all day, avoiding study halls described as a "menace" and starting extra-curricular activities at three in the afternoon. There was an upsurge in gang activity in the area during the year and in January and February, 1981 a series of mass faculty meetings were held to prepare the school for an anticipated onslaught of violence. "The plan would work if we had the commitment and cooperation of all staff members and everyone doing what they should be doing." These activities included patrolling the halls, checking I.D. tags and sending home students without I.D. cards. The system worked and gang violence in the building was controlled during most of the spring semester. Dr. F noted that faculty did get lax and needed to be reminded periodically of procedures. "We established a discipline committee with faculty members to firm up other procedures . . . to send referrals back to teachers indicating what action had been taken so

they will know what action is being taken when they stop a kid. Feedback to the teacher boosts morale . . . communication is the key in gaining teachers' cooperation.

"I had 'rap sessions' twice a month with the whole faculty every other Wednesday. Nothing was censored and problems were solved sometimes, but it got too big, so faculty selected representatives to meet with me and the staff . . . I meet with the Discipline Committee periodically for review, recommendations to the discipline code . . . I believe it has made a change in the climate of the school." Dr. F indicated that there were marginal faculty members, some of whom responded to peer pressure, others who did not. He spoke of the "whimsy" of the central office which he is obliged to communicate to his staff individually and in groups. "I have had two or three faculty grievances in the six years I have been principal.

"I guess I am a buffer . . . trying to explain central office policy which can scmetimes be inhuman . . . I try to make it easier and so I block some information. Also, I give selective communications in the district office and the Board. But when something is a directive, I put it in writing.

"Also, I am an advocate of the faculty to facilitate education in any way I can. But I am an officer of the Board of Education and so I am legally bound to implement the terms of the contract (with the union, with the parents, with the state, and with the students) . . . the coping skills of new teachers need to be sharpened before they come to a school like this one.

"This is a big faculty. I guess there are a number of social gatherings. We sponsor one at the end of the year, but the black and white gatherings are still geographically separated. However, the trust level among the groups is high enough, it is okay to permit them to work on problems together . . . I relate better to the younger members of the faculty.

"The principal has to negotiate his way between the formal and the informal expectations of the system which can constrict behavior. In addition to common sense and good judgement, I still think knowledge of pedagogy -- instructional leadership -- and the content of a discipline are still important in the selection of a principal. The principal has to be a general specialist or a special generalist, because in the long run, the principal is the only one who can place a child in a class . . . that is quite a responsibility."

The principal gave the investigator a lift after the interview and during the ride indicated that he did have career aspirations and expected to move up in the system to a district superintendency. He felt it might take longer than he had anticipated when he was doing his doctoral work. In the interim, he was planning to make his school a model in the city, remain active in local and national professional organizations and learn something about computers. "But if something really good comes along in another system, I would consider it, but I probably would not take it. I really want to be in a decision-making position in this system."

This administrator, determined to keep his staff safe from the surrounding harm, had to devote much of his time to the physical security of the building. But he was also concerned about the human needs of the students and adults within. He was perceptive and knowledgeable enough to know that individuals must establish ownership of a program for implementation, hence, the discipline committee, the "rap sessions." All of these attentions to faculty needs and visible rewards to those who performed in accordance with expectations were manifestations of the principal's understanding of status needs among the teaching faculty. It is interesting to note that little was done in this area to reinforce the status of the assistant principals, who may have been among the most dispirited members of the faculty, for their duties had increased exponentially over the year with diminishing rewards, or so one reported. Unlike his counterpart in the other high school studied, this principal did not establish a formal cadre of sub-administrators; rather, he dealt directly with faculty or with their selected representatives. This tended to leave the three assistant principals with the official status of their title and the unofficial understanding that they could be overruled by faculty committees which had captured the principal's ear.

For the most part, the style of Dr. F was democratic. He gathered evidence, articulated a problem or had others articulate it for him, and then defined the boundaries of acceptable behavior. He then asked for input on his decision from a wide variety of sources -- sources which then became the implementors of the action plan ultimately formulated. He was a personally sensitive individual with a high energy level and an engaging personality.

Analysis of Principal Behavior

This exploratory study, as well as a variety of others dealing with school environments, identifies and explains the crucial role of the principal as a conductor, an orchestrator of stressors, and as the single individual in a school building who has the authority to organize human and material resources in ways that enhance or inhibit stress-producing conditions and events. In this study, particularly in the descriptions of the schools and the interviews with administrators and teachers, the importance of the principal in generating feelings of security, status, and sociability has been established. Because of the importance of this role and the need to design ways to take advantage of the potential for impacting on stress in schools, alternative ways of analyzing leadership behavior in schools need to be examined.

Theoretical frameworks through which to view administrators abound. For example, the six principals could be analyzed in terms of their "leadership style," as described in the classic studies of Lippet and White. Examples are given of the "authoritarian" administrator in the description of the female principal of one elementary school. There is a portrait of the "laissez faire" administrator in the male principal of the eastern elementary school, and of the "democratic" administrator in the principal of the midwestern high school. The other three fit somewhere on a continuum from "authoritarian" to "laissez faire."

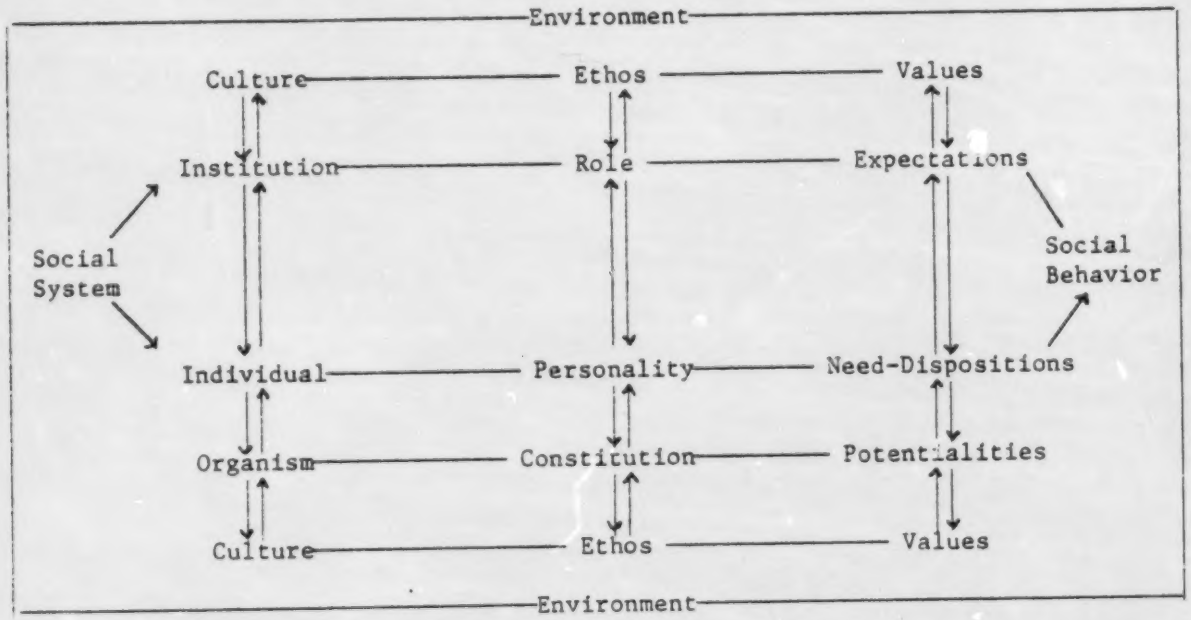
Another way of looking at the six principals is from the vantage point of one of the "great man theories." For example, we could look at them from the perspective of Carlson's "cosmopolitans" and "locals" to predict executive succession, or from the body type categorization of Sheldon which suggests that the tall thin principals will be more successful than the short stout ones. Or they might be viewed from the perspective of McClelland's "need achievement" typology. Much more of the personal motives and background of each individual administrator would be necessary for any data-based analysis and prediction using the above.

Then again it is possible to analyze the group of principals from the perspective of the administrator as a norm setter. The emphasis here would be on the principal as the communicator of expectations, and analysis would view the way in which each communication is structured. Judith Little (1981) lists four ways: announcing, enacting, sanctioning, and defending expectations. So, for example, one could describe the junior high principal as one who sometimes transmitted conflicting expectations to teachers, differentially enacted them and varied sanctions for violators of norms.

For the purposes of this research, the unit of analysis was the school site and its environs -- the school building as a social system. Therefore, in attempting to analyze principal behavior, it seems most reasonable to employ a model which looks at the school as a complex, probabilistic and self-regulating social system described by complementary sets of roles, and these defined by institutional expectations. The Getzels-Guba socio-cultural model of the school as a social system posits that the institutional roles are filled with individuals with unique personalities and need dispositions. The institution and the individual are embedded in the larger culture of

the society and the subculture of the school/community. The interaction of the various levels of the model[1] (shown below) produces social behavior which can be described, explained and in some instances predicted at the institutional and individual level.

The model identifies three administrative or leadership styles: nomothetic, ideographic, and transactional.



It should be understood that the terms, nomothetic, ideographic, and transactional are not value judgements. They are descriptions of individuals' behavior in institutions.

Looking towards further research in this area, the area of leadership behavior in schools, it is useful to consider each of the principals in terms of this social systems framework.

Those principals most concerned about meeting institutional role expectations for themselves and their faculty, to the exclusion of individual and situational concerns, may be considered to be nomothetic in their administrative behavior. Ms. D, in her concern to do things by-the-book, and with her concern for the way in which she was viewed by her superiors, might be considered a nomothetic administrator.

The transactional administrator is one who negotiates between the nomothetic, formal expectations for role performance of the institution and the individual personality needs of the teacher. Mr. B, of the eastern junior

[1]Getzels, J.W., Lipham, J.M. and Campbell, R.F. Educational Administration as a Social Process - Theory, Research, Practice. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, p. 105.

high school, was more nomothetic at the beginning of the study than he seemed to be a year later. Over the 1980-81 school year, he had permitted one or two members of the faculty to personalize events at the school to which he lent his support. He was beginning to behave more as a transactional administrator when he was last visited in June of 1981. His commitment to keeping the resource room open, to establishing public rewards for individual performance and to concern for individual status needs was most apparent in the last interview in June of 1981.

Perhaps the most transactional of the administrators was the principal of the midwestern high school, Mr. F. The immediate individual problem in the school was security. Therefore, he established institutional structures and new roles related to building security, and announced and enforced the expectations for appropriate behavior. He made it visible through the use of I.D. tags, but also continued to fill personal needs to control the situation by face-to-face contact with the faculty and through the discipline committee with whom he met regularly. He moved individual concerns to institutional expectations through his personal concern and announcements, enactments, sanctions and defense. The whole school became, by his design, concerned with keeping the building safe. Personal charisma was a facilitating factor in Mr. F's ability to accomplish this.

The principal of the eastern high school, Mr. C, using a different mode, not dependent on personal charisma, also functioned as a transactional, situational administrator. His cadre of sub-administrators took the responsibility to respond to a crisis situation in the building and acted in his name, ensuring the security of faculty and students. His lieutenants also dispensed rewards and sanctions to faculty at the departmental level. Unless they proved otherwise, Mr. C trusted them to keep the organization running smoothly, handle problems and provide for individual needs.

The administrators of the eastern elementary school, Mr. A, was seemingly the most ideographic of the group. His concern was keeping the school open and keeping his teachers employed, while protecting them from the vagaries of the central and district offices. They were an experienced faculty, and he assumed that they were meeting their role expectations and that his most useful role would be to meet their individual needs. He displayed well-stocked supply rooms, which he was conserving for the time when his "teachers would be desperate and need a lift." He did all the paperwork and adjusted schedules to meet individual faculty members' personal and family needs. He was always available to them through his "open-door policy" and his willingness to run errands in the building for individual teachers. He was kind, tolerant, sympathetic, and the perception on the part of many of the female faculty was that "he is like a father to me." Some of the female faculty members in the elementary school in the midwest spoke of being treated like a child by the female principal. Ms. D was seen as the scolding mother who wanted to be sure that the child learned to do things right. Perhaps it is in the nature of elementary schools with their largely female teaching force and the sex role socialization patterns in our society that the male principal of an elementary school will be viewed as a permissive father and the female principal as a strict mother. With a few Freudian overtones, this speculation is a nice dissertation topic.

Mr. E, the administrator of the midwestern junior high school, might also be classified as an ideographic administrator, at least as reported by his staff and in his interviews. He wished to be thought well of by his staff and responded readily to individual persuasion or pressure. Consequently, institutional expectations were announced but not uniformly enacted, nor were violations uniformly sanctioned. Individuals in this school did not even have the vehicle of the professional problems committee which did not request a meeting all year. This administrator responded to those individuals who seemingly had influence with him in his enforcement of institutional expectations.

It would seem that the six administrators displayed the range of behaviors described by the model. It would seem that administrators who are sensitive to staff feelings of stress and attended to the individuals by providing positive reinforcements were most effective in their positive influence upon identified stressors. But first, the institutional expectations concerning what the job is need to be made clear, along with the strategies for task accomplishment, the sanctions for doing the job and the process by which expectations are rationally changed in an orderly and open fashion. The social systems model, as a method for describing a wide range of leadership behavior within organizations, appears from this small sample to be highly appropriate for satisfying this need.

SCHOOLS AS A WORKPLACE: THE REALITIES OF STRESS

VOLUME III

METHODOLOGY AND INSTRUMENTATION

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A Note to Readers

The total report on the study "Schools as a Workplace: The Realities of Stress" comprises three volumes. Volume I includes an introduction to the reasons for and procedures used in the study, a brief literature review, a description and analysis of stressful conditions in the schools studied, conclusions regarding the significance of the findings, and a set of recommendations for educational policy-makers and practitioners concerned with reducing stressful conditions.

Volume II includes the full case studies of each of the six schools studied and a report on the indepth interviews with each of the six principals of these schools. Volume III contains a much more detailed discussion of the methodologies used as well as the actual instruments which were developed or revised to aid in data collection.

While Volume I is seen as an overview document and perhaps of most direct applicability and interest to policy-makers and practitioners, readers are encouraged to examine all three volumes in order to gain more complete information and insights on the procedures and findings of the study.

VOLUME III

Table of Contents

Methodology 1

Interpretation of Data Sources 1
Data Collection Summary 7

Comparative Analysis: Case Studies, TESI and Follow-Up Stress Questionnaire 11

Community Survey 17

School Observation Sheet 19

Daily Log 23

The Way I Feel About My School 25

Teacher Interview Schedule 29

Working Conditions Assessment Inventory (WCAI) 37

Development of WCAI 37
Description of WCAI 38
Rationale for Instrument Design 40
Preliminary Field Test 41
Performance of the WCAI 42
Limitations of the Analysis 43
Further Steps for Field Testing 43
Uses of the WCAI 44
WCAI Test Instrument 47
A Teaching Events Stress Inventory (TESI) 67

Summary of Responses for Three Schools in One Urban Area 71

General Comments about the Instrument 71
Field Test Results: Part 2 of WCAI 72
Scoring the WCAI 72

School Selection Criteria 75

The Follow-Up Stress Questionnaire 79

School #1 83
School #2 84
School #3 85
School #4 86
School #5 87
School #6 88

Bibliography 89

Methodology

The primary data collection techniques were observation, key informant interviews and content analysis. Using ethnographic strategies as the primary data collection technique provided a congruence with the conceptual models (the "3 S's" and the Cultural Universals) described in Volume I. Observations and interviews were structured to collect data on the eight cultural universals in each school and to assess teachers' perceptions of their security, status and sociability.

Interpretation of Data Sources

The scheme for integrating the data sources is presented in Chart 1. Data sources have been integrated primarily through a process of triangulation. In order that the methods be clear in their intent and implementation, the overall scheme is briefly discussed.

The three levels in Chart 1 refer to stages of data analysis, level 1 referring to the gathering and summarization processes only. It must be pointed out that while it appears that considerable survey information was gathered, these survey data had the primary function of validation of observational data. The number of instrument responses were low by design, with the exception of the Teaching Events Stress Inventory. The major sources from which conclusions were made were the interviews, observations and informally-gathered data. The demographic data were necessary for characterizing the school environments initially, as they compared with other schools.

This emphasis upon the observational data as the major source of conclusions is made clearer in level 2, in which the data are analyzed to produce descriptions of the six school cultures (the case studies). Note that survey information is shown as a source of validation and additional information. Evidence contradictory to observational data was always rechecked and reinvestigated where possible. Where conflicts could not be resolved through further inquiry, they were identified as such or simply not included due to lack of supporting sources.

Level 3 constitutes a second analysis of the data to identify from the cultures those factors that are stressful for teachers. Once identified, they were subjected to the 3S categorization process. Basically, this involved an interpretation of the extent to which the 3S's (status, sociability and security) were being satisfied by the school environments. The latter procedure facilitated a better understanding of what the stressors meant and how they functioned. It was from the stressful factors identified in the case studies that items for the Working Conditions Assessment Inventory were constructed. In addition, the results of the TESI were compared and contrasted with the stressors, again primarily for validation purposes.

One data source which became considerably more prominent and important in its corroboration and identification of stressors than originally expected was the principal interview. Proposed initially as a validation source, the

interviews with the principals provided background and historical data about the schools, for example, which aided greatly the interpretation of other sources. In addition, they also corroborated field researchers' convictions concerning the significance of this role as an influence on the climate and, thus, the stress in the school working environment.

Following each of the three rounds of observations, the three-level reduction process was carried through, each time with the additional data collected. The final case studies, the WCAI, and the conclusions, therefore, are a product of a recycling and reanalyzing process, one that mitigates against non-data based inferences.

The study was unusual in that it took a wholistic approach to the identification, description and explanation of the stressors and adult groups' reactions to them over a school year. By using anthropological research techniques, it tried to capture the culture of the six schools in the study and look at them as what they are, functioning social systems. The investigation tried to provide systematic qualitative and quantitative data to answer some of the perplexing questions related to the issues of working conditions and dysfunctional stress in the occupational subculture of teaching. What is it about the nature of the job -- the work that is required of the teacher in a school building -- that leads to dysfunctional stress?

The study was designed in three phases. The first phase, a planning phase, took place from February - April, 1980 during which a comprehensive literature review concerning stress in teaching was conducted, an advisory board of 12 members was selected involving representatives from the disciplines of education, psychology, sociology and anthropology, and the participating schools were selected.

Finding and selecting suitable schools for the study was the primary responsibility of the unions in the respective cities in which the study was to be conducted. Specific selection criteria for the schools are included in this section, and these were adhered to as much as was possible in the selection process. Two elementary, two middle (junior high) and two high schools were chosen, three from each of the urban school systems.

An important task of Phase 1 was the detailed explication and refinement of the operational plan for conducting on-site data collection. Once this was completed, efforts were focused upon locating and hiring trained researchers and then on planning the training program for those four field researchers who would gather the bulk of the data in the schools.

Phase 2, the data collection phase, took place from May, 1980 through July, 1981. Field researchers made three rounds of site visits, each round no less than 15 days to each of the six schools. Schools were observed at the beginning, middle and end of the school year for a consecutive three to four week period. Two field researchers focused on one urban center, while two focused on another.

Chart 1: DATA SOURCES: FLOWCHART OF INFORMATION

---------- Level 1 ----------

Demographic Data

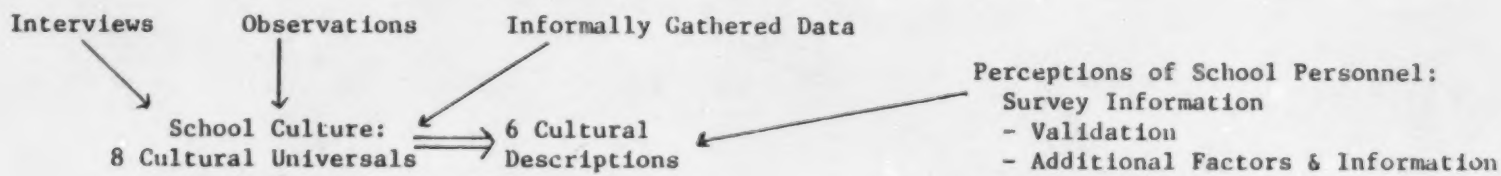
Survey Information: Self Report

- School Observation Sheet
- Community Survey
- Way I Feel About My School
- Daily Log
- TESI: Goal, 50% return
- Follow-Up Stress Questionnaire: Goal, 25% return

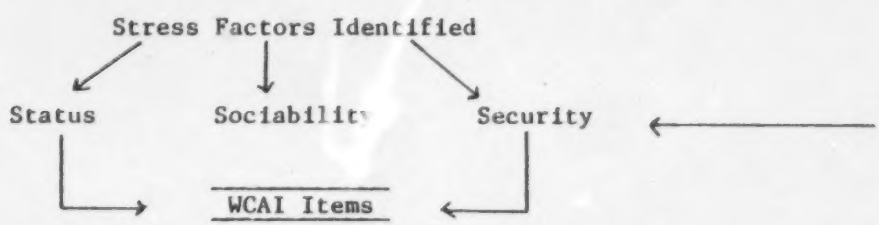
Observational Data

- Key Informant Interviews
- In-Class Observations
- Out-of-Class Observations
- Informal interviews and discussions, critical events, organizational factors, changes over time, personnel relationships.

---------- Level 2 - First Reduction ----------



---------- Level 3 - Second Reduction ----------



Perceptions of Degree of Stress of Teaching Events:

Teachers:	Principals:
- TESI Data	- AESI Data
- Degree of Stress	- Degree of Stress

Validation Procedures

- Site Visits by Project Staff
  - Principal Interviews
  - Discussions with teachers
  - Observations: plant, neighborhood, classes, interactions

Check:
- Field Worker Observation (Raw Notes)
- Personnel Perceptions (Survey Info)
- Initial impressions & interpretations (Multiple staff agreement)

Field researchers forwarded raw data materials to project staff following each round of site visits, along with a report using the cultural universals to describe each school. These reports built upon one another as the rounds progressed. While the field researchers highlighted time-bound events and areas which changed from round to round, they emphasized aspects of the culture which were on-going. The cultural universals framework provided the logical scheme for presenting data and discussing relationships among the various elements of the observed school cultures.

It was the task of project staff at Roosevelt University to review these data and the content analyses that were performed. Areas of misunderstanding or varying interpretation were identified and resolved. Reports sent in by field researchers were compared with one another by the staff in order to identify areas or aspects upon which there was widely discrepant opinion. Only those aspects of the culture which were generally supported by both field researchers in a site were included in the descriptions of each school.

While field researchers were not instructed to gather observational data specifically within the eight universals or about the 3 S's categories, the key informant interview questions were grouped by universal. During field researchers' training, considerable time was directed to becoming familiar with the two models, and all knew the format of reporting that would be expected. This is to say that field researchers went into the school setting with a strong awareness and orientation of the model design and that this certainly influenced their data-gathering activities. The primary activity and formal function of the cultural universals model was as a coding procedure of vastly diverse data.

Once the content analyses were completed, copies were sent to all staff members and field researchers for final comment. Any additions or deletions were noted and similarly discussed by project staff. In addition, a number of independent researchers were sent copies of the report for comment, specifically to address if inferences were supported by sufficient data.

After the school cultures were described, field researchers and project staff separately identified a list of stressful factors that were common to the observed schools. Stressful factors had to be substantiated by data. Lists were compared and discussed, and a final listing agreed upon by all parties. As part of the data analysis, field researchers also provided a breakdown of the important elements of their school descriptions into the categories of status, security and sociability. This typically followed the "stressor identification" procedure and was for the primary purpose of locating more specific reasons for why certain factors were indeed stressful. The 3 S categories facilitated a clearer understanding of the measure and source of the stressors.

Following the third round of site visits, final case studies were prepared by field researchers and edited collaboratively by project staff. Stressors in the schools were identified from which preliminary work on the Working Conditions Assessment Inventory began.

After each round of observations, a site visit by at least two project staff other than the field researchers was conducted. Visits were usually two days in length and were conducted primarily for validation purposes. Interviews and observations were conducted, and considerable time was usually spent with the school principal discussing the study, its progress and any problems that were experienced.

Due to early indications of the apparent importance of the principal's role as a potential influence on stress in the schools observed, interviews with the principal took on greater significance. Indepth entry interviews were conducted with principals by one of the primary investigators prior to the first round of observations. It was decided also to conduct a similar exit interview for each principal and present results as an additional data source if found to add significantly to the other information gathered. Results of these interviews are presented in Volume II of this report.

From the inclusive list of stressors developed subsequent to the third round of site visits, an instrument was drafted which was to describe in detail the conditions assessed, as well as obtain respondents' assessment of stress associated with each of the conditions. The instrument is entitled the Working Conditions Assessment Inventory (WCAI), and it is a product of the collaborative efforts of the Roosevelt staff working on the project.

The instrument was developed for wide survey use and thus will need extensive field testing before it is to be administered either separately or along with the Teaching Events Stress Inventory (TESI), which was modified based upon present findings in order to make it more comprehensive, as well as compatible with the WCAI for joint distribution.

Towards the end of the third round of observations, the TESI was distributed to all participating teachers to provide a major source of validation for the identified stressors. In addition, both the instrument format and content of the responses were utilized to make decisions concerning needed modification in the TESI itself. Modifications were made and are included in the TESI form appearing in Appendix C of this report.

The draft form of the WCAI was then distributed to staff members and members of the Advisory Board for critique and suggested changes. The changes were incorporated and the revised instrument distributed to all teachers in the involved schools in late fall, 1981. This was part of a preliminary field test of the WCAI designed to obtain assessments of participating teachers concerning format, understandability, and further to compare descriptions formulated from the responses provided to the case studies themselves. Comparisons were made, and results are described along with a description of the development of the instrument later in this section. It must be emphasized that the WCAI is a preliminary draft in need of further testing and modification. The testing will have to identify some of the basic psychometric properties of the instrument (validity and reliability) and be modified to obtain factorially "pure" categories, when possible. In addition, the adequacy of the instrument as a substitute for on-site observations will need to be determined. Plans are now underway for undertaking these procedures.

The final month of Phase 3 was spent in refining case studies and preparing the various components of the final report.

Data Collection Summary

Discussed below are the variety of data sources used in production of the case studies, identification of stressors and formulation of the Working Conditions Assessment Inventory.

Multiple data sources were utilized, as stated earlier, to provide validation for observations and to provide additional data for rationalization of discrepant findings between survey and observation data. It is important to remember that each data source discussed below did not have equal weight in producing the case study descriptions and that the specific purposes for using one technique or another were also different. As a result, some sources were extremely limited, while others were extensive. The various instruments used to gather these data are appended to this summary. Following the descriptions of data sources is a discussion of the model used to integrate the varieties of information produced, in order to generate the intended products.

Data Sources

1. School Community Survey*

The School Community Survey instrument was used to place each school within the context of its surrounding community and to provide information about the social, economic, political and demographic characteristics of the community. The School Community Survey was distributed to one teacher and/or one parent in each of the schools.

2. School Observation Sheet*

The initial phase of data gathering involved the description of the physical plant. These data, recorded on the School Observation Sheet, detailed the condition of the physical plant, both interior and exterior, including, where present, the staff/faculty parking lot. Each field worker was instructed to complete one School Observation Sheet for each school during the first observation period and to note significant changes during subsequent observation periods.

3. Key Informant Interview Schedule

In order to generate a pool of possible individuals that would agree to be interviewed using the Key Informant Interview Schedule, the principal and the union representative were requested during the first round to identify individuals (faculty and staff) who could provide valuable information about the culture of the school. During subsequent observation periods

*These forms were developed and field tested by H. Schwartz and graduate students doing ethnographic case studies.

through established relations with staff, the field researchers were able to identify potentially valuable information without the exclusive input of the principal and union representative. The number of individuals interviewed varied from school to school, but no less than five key informants per school were interviewed.

4. Non-Participant Observation

The Non-Participant Observation involved observations of the behavior and interactions in the three distinct areas of the school: the classroom, the main office, and the common areas (halls, lunchroom, teachers' lounge, etc.). Key informants were included in classroom observations. This sample was used in a continuing attempt to build reliability and validity between the observed and self-reported data. A minimum of 25% of the classes in any school were observed at least once.

5. Daily Logs

Daily Logs were distributed to those teachers who had been or were going to be observed. These provided an efficient way of gathering limited information in lieu of a teacher interview. The Daily Log requested that for a given day, teachers report events that they enjoyed most and enjoyed least. These descriptions were used to enrich the background information needed to aid interpretations of observations.

6. The Way I Feel About My School

The Way I Feel About My School was also distributed primarily but not exclusively to the key informants to respond "yes" or "no" to a series of statements about life in schools. Again, this was a validation source for observations and interview data collected by the field researchers.

7. Teaching Events Stress Inventory (TESI)

The Teaching Events Stress Inventory (TESI) was distributed to all teachers. This self-report instrument asks teachers to rate the relative stress of a series of hypothetical events in schools. Instruments were placed in teachers' mailboxes with self-addressed stamped envelopes for their return. Results of the TESI were compared to findings generated from the field data and are discussed in this Volume. There was nearly a 50% return in all six schools.

8. Administrator Events Stress Inventory

The Administrator Events Stress Inventory was distributed to each of the six principals. This instrument requested that the principal respond not only to his/her perceptions of the relative levels of stress associated with a number of school events, but also attempt to place a level on the amount of stress that these events would have on his teaching staff. Five

of the six principals responded, and results are presented as part of the descriptions of the extensive interviews with each of the principals in Volume II.

9. Follow-Up Stress Questionnaire

The Follow-Up Stress Questionnaire grew out of concerns expressed by advisory board members about the need to provide additional validation of observations. It was suggested that a series of open-ended questions be asked that dealt directly with specific stress issues. These issues had been expressed indirectly during interviews and in various self-report instruments. This questionnaire consisted of four questions and was distributed to all teachers after the third round. The response rate to this final questionnaire was very low and results are presented at the end of this Volume.

10. Staff Site Visitations

Additional data were gathered by the Roosevelt staff during site visits in both urban settings. The site visits, conducted after each round of observations, provided additional data as well as validation of what was reported by field researchers.

Comparative Analysis

In the development of the six case studies, alternative data gathering techniques were employed to provide sources of information for validation of case study results. The Teaching Events Stress Inventory (TESI) and Follow-Up Stress Questionnnaire were utilized for this purpose.

The Follow-Up Questionnaire was distributed to all teachers at the recommendation of the Advisory Board to obtain an additional validation source for case study data. Unfortunately, the response rate was too low across schools to permit confident assessment of support or refutation. Since the information was generally supportive and also raised some additional issues of interest, a summary of these responses is included at the end of this Volume.

A few discrepancies were found between findings of the case studies and the TESI results. Certain of these differences were expected due to the nature of the TESI itself. The extent to which the case study findings were supported or refuted by the TESI is presented in Table 7. The following provides several reasons for discrepancies found.

Validation Sources

In order to understand the discrepancies, certain qualifying remarks about the TESI need to be mentioned. To reiterate, this study's major emphasis is on conclusions drawn from the case studies. The use of anthropological techniques to focus on school cultures as a means of better understanding teacher stress underlies this emphasis. The TESI serves best as a gross initial measure of where the stress points may be. Additional techniques, such as ethnographic measures, need to be employed to obtain a clear picture of the stressors of the environment.

Certain drawbacks to utilizing the TESI as a validation instrument need to be discussed. The TESI was administered only once to all the six schools. Being time bound, responses were likely affected and altered by events or crises which passed rather quickly. The instrument relied solely upon self-report of those teachers who chose to respond, and all responses were anonymous. Thus, without a very large sample, the representativeness of responses cannot be assured, and sample bias may exist. With respect to the TESI, the return in all but one school exceeded 50% (School #1 had a 32% return).

An added problem with the TESI was that some areas of stress emphasized in the instrument were different than those suggested by the case studies. Also, a few areas, such as the leadership style of the principal -- the decision-making process, ties with faculty, etc. -- are only hinted at in certain questions and never directly addressed. Therefore, in the category of stressors identified as governance/leadership in case studies, the TESI may support or refute feelings about higher levels of administration but never get at other issues, such as the effectiveness and style of the principal.

Finally, anonymous self-report responses are of a different nature than third-party observations and face-to-face interviews. While one might anticipate that some issues raised anonymously would elude observations and not be mentioned in personal interviews, the nature of ethnographic techniques allows for exploration of interesting ideas indepth which a pre-prepared instrument will miss. Both the TESI and Follow-Up Questionnaire assess a finite pre-defined area of inquiry and, for this reason alone, produced differing findings from the case studies, without necessarily refuting them. Some differences in results, therefore, were expected.

Results of Comparisons

In Table 7, six categories of stressors - Security, Governance/Leadership, Budget Cuts, Student Issues, Staff Relations and Other - are displayed for the six schools. Cells have been filled where there has been strong evidence from either the case study data (CS), TESI data (TESI) or both (CS, TESI). A final category of "Other" was included to take account of individual stressors in single schools not covered under the other five categories. The table displays 23 of 36 cells in which support from case study data was found (CS). Of these 23, 20 were supported by the TESI (CS, TESI). Thus, three categories of stressors, which were identified in the case studies (CS), were not supported by the TESI.

An examination of Table 7 reveals strong support in nearly all schools in both sites for the categories of security, governance/leadership and budget cuts. Only School #3 for the security category shows no case study support. In this last case, teachers did report that security was relatively good, but an incident involving some violence occurred just prior to the TESI's administration, and this may have affected responses. Student issues appeared in case studies only in the two high schools. In each case, TESI data supported the finding.

In School #1, the category of staff relations referred to problems in the school between regular teachers and teachers from new programs recently imported for financial reasons. Only one item in the TESI, "disagreement with another teacher," specifically addressed this site-specific problem. It was ranked as moderately stressful at rank 16. More items are really needed concerning this issue to allow judgements to be made. From this item alone, it appears that staff relations may be secondary to other stressors such as governance/leadership.

The category of staff relations in School #2 was derived from discontent among a small band of teachers who disliked the principal and union representative. It is not known how many of the group responded to the instruments, and again only one item directly addressed staff disagreement. In this case, however, items concerning governance/leadership may include these concerns. These were high ranked.

In School #6, case study data revealed considerable concern over parent issues, particularly the unsupervised and non-systematic manner in which parents would intrude on classrooms unannounced and unexpected. However,

	Security	Gov./Leadership	Budget Cuts	Student Issues	Staff Relations	Other[1]
School #1	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI		CS	TESI
School #2	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI		CS	
School #3	TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI		
School #4	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI			
School #5	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI	TESI	CS TESI	
School #6	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI	CS TESI		CS

Legend - CS = Case Study
TESI = Teaching Events Stress Inventory

[1]Other includes categories of stressors found only in one school in case studies and stressors from the other sources.
School #1 other = racial issue
School #6 other = parent issue

TESI items dealing with parent-related issues or problems were all ranked very low. It seems possible that teachers believe that such problems would be alleviated by a systematic procedure, and then the problems were not attributable to parents, per se. What has resulted in some cases, however, are some bad feelings between parents and teachers. Governance/leadership items are given higher item ratings and perhaps the above feelings are also reflected in these ratings.

In the category of Other, the TESI data suggested a concern in School #1 with "community racial issues" (rank 7) and "staff racial issues" (rank 9). Case study data suggested some discontent over the problems created by non-Spanish-speaking teachers trying to communicate with Spanish-speaking parents. This is a possible source for the relatively high rankings given these items, but little other explanation exists. The standard deviations for these two items were quite high indicating lack of agreement on the rankings, and what may be tapped here are the extreme concerns of a few faculty. Therefore, without greater confidence in representativeness of the responses to the TESI, and in the absence of better clues in the case study data, explanation can only be tentative.

In School #3, the absence of indications from case study data that personal security was a problem in the school has been rationalized earlier by the increased media coverage concerning gun laws at the time of the administration of the TESI. It is appropriate to point out that previous research with the TESI has revealed its susceptibility to the influence of critical current events. Case study data show consistently that teachers felt safe. In light of both of these factors, it was judged that security should not be considered a high stressor for the School #3 population.

An unexplainable discrepancy between case study and TESI data in School #5 centered around the stress teachers associated with "being the target of verbal abuse," "teaching in overcrowded classrooms," and "handling disruptive children." These items were ranked 5, 6 and 7 respectively. In none of the observations were pupils observed to use abusive language to teachers. Class sizes were not excessive, and disruptive children often were funneled into special education classes. Teachers who responded to the TESI are likely making a statement not explained by these items. The high ranking of these items remains a puzzle, given available data.

Community Survey

A. Community

1. What are the geographic boundaries of the community?
2. Who are the community leaders?
3. Who are the political leaders in the community? Have they been able to "do much" for the community?
4. Is it a homogeneous community? If there are differences, describe them.
5. Why do families move to the neighborhood?
6. Why do they move out?
7. How long have most of your students' parents lived in the community? Have they lived in the same houses for that period of time or have they moved around?
8. Describe the housing in the community.
9. What grocery stores do community people shop at? What department stores?
10. What churches do they attend?
11. What about the transportation into the community -- and around the community?
12. What is the job market like for your students' parents?
13. How much education have the parents of your students had?
14. Where do your students play?

B. School

1. Are parents welcome at your school?
2. What services does your school offer the students? What special programs do you have?
3. What services does it offer their parents and to the school community?
4. Are the people you have defined as community leaders (see A-2) also active in school affairs?
5. How do the parents feel about the school? Do new parents view the school differently than parents of older students? Do parents of children in special classes feel differently than parents of children in regular classes?

(B. School - Continued)

6. What has been the nature of school community communication over the last year?

7. Why do parents visit your school?

8. What kinds of reporting does the school do to parents?

9. Does your school have a discipline problem? Are many students suspended? Why are they suspended and for how long?

10. What do the parents want from the school? Is your school responsive to their demands?

11. Do students look forward to school? Kindergarteners? Fifth graders? High school juniors?

12. When does attendance become a problem? Why?

13. Comment on your school's reading score.

14. What questions should be added to this sheet?

School Observation Sheet[1]

NOTE: The following items have relevance to the analysis of the character, objectives and structure of a school. You will observe the items mentioned, note them on these sheets, and use them to draw implications about the school. It is useful to have another teacher fill out this form and then compare data and conclusions.

External

1. Parking lot
    a. What kind of bumper stickers or ornaments are on the cars?
    b. Are the cars locked?
    c. What radio stations are the cars tuned to?
    d. Are the cars new or old?
    e. What condition are the tires in?
    f. Are there reserved parking places?
    g. Are the cars out of state?

2. Grounds and Physical Plant
    a. What kind of paper is on the ground?
    b. Where is the trash can?
    c. Is the grass cut?
    d. When are the sprinklers turned on?
    e. What kind of play equipment is there and where is it located?
    f. Are there numbers on the ground for kids to line up on?
    g. Do school doors open in or out?
    h. Where is the office, how is it set up, what does it look like?
    i. Are there wandering students?
    j. How large is the library?
    k. How is color used on the walls?
    l. What is the layout of the school?

[1]Reprinted with the permission of Robert H. Koff, Dean, School of Education, State University of New York at Albany.

3. Office

   a. What files are there? What is in them?
   b. What kind of personality does the secretary have?
   c. Where are the phones?
   d. Is the secretary separated from the administration?
   e. Are the administration's doors open?
   f. Are there "student of the week" signs? How large?
   g. Where do the discipline cases sit?
   h. What is on the walls?

4. Faculty Room

   a. Is it comfortable?
   b. What kind of books are there?
   c. What signs are there in the faculty room?
   d. What do the teachers talk about (e.g., discipline, opera, sex, history, etc.)?
   e. What are people eating?
   f. How clean is the room? Who cleans it?

5. Wash Room

   a. Is it clean?
   b. Are the fixtures adult height or child's height?
   c. Is there privacy?
   d. Do the students need washroom passes?

6. Where is the Janitor located?

   a. Do the students help him?

7. What is on the walls (sayings, pictures)? What do they say; who made them?

8. Condition of Shops

   a. Is the equipment adequate and in good repair?
   b. Are safety devices provided?

(Condition of Shops - Continued)

c. Are students using equipment appropriately?

d. Comments regarding facilities.

NOTE: The responses to each question (two observations or more are preferred) should be examined for what data they give regarding the physical facilities of the school. Item 8, Condition of Shops, should be filled in by the occupational educator who is familiar with the kinds of questions to be asked concerning physical facilities in each occupational area.

Name of School_____

Date_____

Daily Log

Morning

1. What do you remember most about this time slot?

2. With whom did you talk or interact? Which person(s) were most important to you this morning? Why?

3. What did you enjoy most this morning?

4. What did you dislike most this morning?

Afternoon

1. What did you do this afternoon that you will be doing in your role as a school/community leader?

2. Did you learn something new today? What? From whom?

3. What new insights did you obtain today regarding your feelings, values, knowledge, behavior and school subculture?

The Way I Feel About My School

David Rogers and Henrietta Schwartz
Roosevelt University

Here are a set of statements. Some of them you may feel are true of your school and so you will circle yes. Some of them you may feel are not true of your school so you will circle no. Please answer every question even if some are hard to decide, but do not circle both yes and no. Remember, circle the yes if the statement is generally like the school, or circle no if the statement is generally not like the school. There are no right or wrong answers. Only you can tell us how you feel about your school, so we hope you will mark the way you really feel inside.

1.	The principal is in charge	yes	no
2.	The school clerk runs the school	yes	no
3.	The assistant principal evaluates the teachers	yes	no
4.	The principal is competent	yes	no
5.	The adjustment teacher is the school social leader	yes	no
6.	The (an) assistant principal is in charge of discipline .	yes	no
7.	The principal evaluates the teachers	yes	no
8.	The principal is in charge of the distribution of supplies	yes	no
9.	The (an) assistant principal is in charge of assemblies .	yes	no
10.	The (an) adjustment teacher is in charge of the assignment of teachers	yes	no
11.	The majority of decisions are made by the community advisory council	yes	no
12.	The advisory council has very little authority	yes	no
13.	The authority to make decisions is vested in the principal	yes	no
14.	The school is run like a bureaucratic organization	yes	no
15.	Decisions about classroom activities are made by the teachers	yes	no
16.	The school is run well	yes	no
17.	The central office of the Board of Education runs the school	yes	no
18.	The school has many federal guidelines which it must follow	yes	no
19.	The assistant principal(s) have very little authority . .	yes	no
20.	Classroom teachers are in charge of assemblies	yes	no

This scale was developed as part of an ethnographic study of an elementary school done by David Rogers, a graduate student in the School Community Educational Leadership Program, College of Education, Roosevelt University.

21. Teachers have freedom to teach as they see fit . . . . . yes no

22. The administrative staff consists of the principal, assistant principal(s), and non-classroom teachers . . . . yes no

23. The principal selects many of the staff members . . . . . yes no

24. The (an) assistant principal is in charge of supplies . . yes no

25. The distribution of supplies shows favoritism . . . . . yes no

26. The school has an adequate amount of supplies . . . . . yes no

27. The Board of Education is sensitive to the needs of the school . . . . . yes no

28. The community runs the school . . . . . yes no

29. The community has a great amount of influence on the school . . . . . yes no

30. The principal is in charge of the advisory council . . . . yes no

31. The advisory council is a strong organization within the school . . . . . yes no

32. The PTA is a strong organization within the school . . . . yes no

33. Grade level chairmen or department chairmen have a great deal of authority . . . . . yes no

34. Teachers have very little decision-making power . . . . . yes no

35. Teachers can select their own supplementary materials . . yes no

36. Basic books are purchased through the consent of all teachers . . . . . yes no

37. The faculty steering committee decides what books and programs are to be used . . . . . yes no

38. The engineer plays an important role in administrative decisions . . . . . yes no

39. The lunchroom manager is under the supervision of the principal . . . . . yes no

40. There are many problem-solving meetings at the school . . yes no

41. There is a small select group which runs the school . . . yes no

42. The principal is democratic . . . . . yes no

43. The principal is a good leader . . . . . yes no

44. The most emphasis is placed on athletics . . . . . yes no

45. The most emphasis is placed on reading . . . . . yes no

46. Social studies and math play a secondary role in the curriculum . . . . . yes no

47. Science is an important part of the curriculum . . . . . yes no

48. Field trips are often a part of the educational program . yes no

49. Physical education is a very important subject in the curriculum . . . . . yes no

50. Great emphasis is placed on the library program . . . . . yes no

51. The Special Education Program is considered important . . yes no
52. The continuous development/mastery learning program is considered to be a success . . . . . yes no
53. The music program is important . . . . . yes no
54. Extra curricular athletic programs are considered important . . . . . yes no
55. The recess periods are very necessary . . . . . yes no
56. Wide use of audio-visual aids is prevalent within the school . . . . . yes no
57. Teachers receive ample preparation time . . . . . yes no
58. Teachers use preparation time effectively and efficiently yes no
59. Teacher aides assist in the instructional process . . . . yes no
60. The continuous progress program has been successfully initiated . . . . . yes no
61. Little emphasis is placed on individualized instruction . yes no
62. The closed-campus plan is approved by the school . . . . . yes no
63. The state government provides special funds and programs in the school . . . . . yes no
64. The school receives many programs from the federal government . . . . . yes no
65. The school has a budget to buy special things . . . . . yes no
66. The school receives its allocated allottment of funds each year . . . . . yes no
67. There is a shortage of supplies . . . . . yes no
68. The principal is in charge of the school fund . . . . . yes no
69. Each teacher is allocated money for the purchase of additional supplies . . . . . yes no
70. There are many small social groups within the school . . . yes no
71. There is ample time for socializing during the school day yes no
72. The school has a social committee . . . . . yes no
73. Socializing with other staff members is infrequent . . . . yes no
74. The same people socialize with one another . . . . . yes no
75. The majority of the staff attends the social functions of the school . . . . . yes no
76. Social club dues are paid . . . . . yes no
77. People at the school get along well with one another . . . yes no
78. A pleasant atmosphere exists within the school . . . . . yes no
79. The principal is anti-social . . . . . yes no
80. I enjoy working at this school . . . . . yes no

The one thing I would change in this school is: _____

_____

_____

The best thing about this school is: _____

_____

_____

because _____

_____

TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SAMPLE QUESTIONS ON SELECTED ASPECTS OF THE SCHOOL SUBCULTURE

Note: Only those questions related to your school should be used.

Language

1. Do you feel that the language used in your classroom has an effect on the students' learning? If so, in what ways?

2. How would you rate the communication skills of the students in your class?

3. Are there words or phrases used by members of the faculty to describe something in the school setting that would not be understood by an outsider? Would you cite examples?

4. Could you provide some examples of body language used in the school by faculty?

5. What difficulties do you have in understanding students' language? Give some examples.

6. Do you believe a difference in language is a barrier to social acceptability?

7. Should a job be given, if there is a language deficiency, though there is no fault in performance of the student? Why?

8. Do you feel that common slang is permissible in a professional environment?
   a. Why?
   b. What kinds of language do you feel are more permissible?

9. Have you heard any language or terms peculiar to this school?
   a. Can you give any examples?
   b. What is the meaning of these terms?
   c. What do you think is their origin?

Technology

1. If you could change the teaching methods you use, what would you change? Why? How?

2. How do you explain the assignment of students to specific classrooms? Of teachers to specific levels?

3. What are the promotional policies of the school?

4. Are you in agreement with the procedures used in administering your school? Why?

5. How is the "teaching" faculty arranged for instruction of pupils?
   a. Do teachers share knowledge, skill and expertise in a given area with their co-workers?
   b. How do they relate these ideas?
   c. Is there any existence of "team-teaching" or "team work"?

6. To what degree is audio-visual equipment used in your school? Why?
   a. How is A-V equipment distributed?
   b. Are films ordered? If not, why?
   c. How are these films distributed?
   d. Could the present system be improved? How?

7. What kinds of resource materials do you use in your classroom?

Economics

1. Who orders the supplies, shop equipment, and textbooks in the school?

2. If you had to plan an activity to raise money for the occupational program, what would you do?

3. Do you feel you should have a voice in the selection of materials?

4. How is your salary paid?

5. How are teachers evaluated? Promoted? Demoted? Rewarded? Punished?

6. Do you feel that teachers have job security? Why?

Governance

1. Does the principal check lesson plans or curriculum plans? Who does?
   a. How often are plans checked?
   b. What reactions does the principal or someone else give when plans are not in order?

2. Is there a standard format used in preparing plans, or is that up to the individual teacher?

3. What method of decision-making (consensus, or voting, or decree, etc.) is used by the administration?

4. Who does the faculty approach with problems?

5. Who do you feel is the most important person in your school other than the principal? Why?

6. Should all concerned aid in decision-making, such as administrators, teachers and non-professional staff and students?

7. Do you perceive the existence of power groups within the organization which appear to be "running things"? What do you believe to be their source of power?

8. Who are the decision-makers at your school?

9. How is the governance of the school influenced by the actions of the district office? The superintendent? The school board?

10. What is the role of the community in the decision-making structure of the school?

Social Organization

1. How are groups formed in the school: by sex, age, department?

2. How much influence do the groups have upon the decisions made by the administrators? How is this accomplished?

3. How does the faculty organize for social interaction?

4. What is your view on the principal's awareness of school and community problems?

5. Who maintains "law and order" in the building? How?

6. How are students disciplined?

Cosmology

1. How well does the school prepare the students for adult roles in their society?

2. Is the curriculum meeting the needs of the students in your school?

3. Do the parents have any say as to what happens in school?

4. How much importance is placed on promptness by you? Why? What happens when you are not prompt?

5. Providing you were in a position to change regulations, would you interact with subordinates to affect change? How?

6. What are your feelings concerning community involvement in the achievement of school goals? What actions do you think the school could take to increase its services to the community?

7. What bothers you most about teaching? Your job?

8. What gives you the greatest satisfaction as a teacher?

Value System

1. What do you feel that the school should do to better prepare youngsters to live adequately after graduation?

2. What is the primary purpose of education?

3. Are teachers meeting students' needs?

4. Are values taught in your school? How?

5. How important is a high math or reading score in your program area?

6. What are the status symbols in your school? In your department?

7. About what issues do most vocational teachers seem united? Most fragmented?

8. What are some of the job-related values you expect students to learn and why do you think they should learn them?

9. Do teachers evaluate each other? Formally? Informally? How?

Socialization and Education

1. What action is taken against incompetent teachers?
   a. Is there a systematic progression of steps taken to improve and/or get rid of an incompetent teacher? If so, what are they? If not, why?
   b. Is everyone aware of these steps? If so, how are they informed? If not, why aren't they informed?
   c. Has anyone in your area ever been dismissed or transferred from this school?
      1) What was the reason for this action?
      2) Did they receive any kind of aid, warning, or consideration prior to dismissal?
      3) Do you feel the person was fairly treated? Why? Why not?

2. How do you socialize your students to abide by the norms for your classes? Rewards? Punishments?

3. What are the major steps one must take to become a tenured member of the faculty?

4. What events typically surround someone leaving the system? Retirement? Resignation? Illness?

Working Conditions Assessment Inventory (WCAI)

A major goal of this project was the formulation of the Working Conditions Assessment Inventory, an instrument developed from the data collected in the six participating schools. The WCAI was to provide an index of stress for working conditions in schools. The instrument and instructions for its use follow this discussion. Here we describe briefly the procedures followed in the development of the WCAI, present results of the preliminary field test, and suggest further steps needed for full testing and alternate uses of the instrument.

Development of the WCAI

The WCAI provides a stress index of the following factors impacting on working conditions in schools: the Principal, Assistant Principal, Teachers, Students, Parents, Clerical Staff, Custodial Staff, the Board of Education (Central Office), the Physical Condition of the School, the Surrounding Neighborhood and the Material Resources of the School. These broad categories and items within each of the categories were derived from an inclusive listing of all aspects identified by school personnel and field researchers as stressful in the six schools studied. The development of the WCAI paralleled analysis of the field data and basically involved the following steps:

1. Raw data were analyzed to produce the descriptions of the six school cultures.

2. Cultural descriptions were validated by evidence from raw notes of multiple observers and survey data. Unsupported information was eliminated.

3. A list of stressors in the schools was formulated based upon analyses of the case studies and secondary analysis of raw data.

4. An inclusive list of factors (conditions) contributing to the identified stressors was formulated.

5. Items were designed that asked respondents to rate the descriptiveness of these factors for their school.

6. Items were categorized by similarity of content, and identified categories were then referred to as working conditions.

7. A rating system was developed for assigning stress values to the identified conditions and ample space for written comments was provided.

Once a draft instrument was developed, it was given to project staff and members of the Advisory Board for comment and suggested revisions. Suggested changes were incorporated in order to produce a draft suitable for distribution

in the six participating schools. The revised draft was then given to all teachers in the six schools for them to fill out and comment upon as part of a preliminary field test. Results of this administration are discussed below.

After analysis of the field-test information, as well as an additional review by project staff, the WCAI was again revised based upon this information. The form included is a product of these last revisions.

Description of the WCAI

The WCAI comes in two parts, each with a distinct purpose. Part 1 of the instrument asks teachers to describe conditions in their school as they perceive them and then as they believe other teachers in their school see them. Respondents use a 1-5 rating scale to describe the extent to which the various conditions are descriptive of their school (5 - high, 1 - low). Respondents describe conditions in the school without directly identifying the school's stressful aspects, and space is provided for written comments about each of the eleven conditions.

In Part 2, respondents' major task is to assign stress values to the eleven conditions. Prior to any numerical rating, respondents are asked some open-ended questions designed to obtain global judgements about stress as it relates to the entire school. They are then asked to categorize the eleven conditions as positive, negative and neutral stressors.

Once the categorization is made, respondents are then asked to utilize a newly constructed 11-point rating scale (-5 to +5) to assign stress values to the eleven conditions. Respondents rate the extent to which the various conditions make them want to leave or stay in the occupation of teaching. A final item asks respondents to list the five most stressful events that took place during the last school year.

The resulting instrument is internally consistent with the findings (the stressor categories identified), but this is not directly apparent from a brief perusal of the specific items in the WCAI. The following displays selected exemplary items within the eleven Working Conditions as they related to the stressor categories discussed in the findings.

Stressor Category	Working Conditions	Sample Items
Governance/Leadership	Principal	"has an effective leadership style" "involves teachers in instructional decisions"
	Assistant Principal	"treats teachers equitably and fairly" "is an effective liaison between principal and teachers"

Stressor Category	Working Conditions	Sample Items
Governance/Leadership (continued)	Board of Education	"makes reasonable demands on teachers" "utilizes input from the field (principals, teachers, community)"
	Custodial Staff	"respond adequately to directives from the principal"
Budget Cuts	Material Resources	"are in adequate supply" "can be ordered easily and efficiently"
	Clerical Staff	"are in adequate numbers to carry out needed clerical tasks of the school" "are qualified and perform their jobs effectively and efficiently"
	Physical Structure	"has adequate security from outside intruders" "has adequate heat throughout the year" "is in good physical condition"
Student Issues	Students	"are for the most part average or above average in ability" "are well behaved and respectful of teachers" "want to learn and respect learning"
Staff Relations	Teachers	"have little or no racial divisiveness" "socialize with other teachers outside the school" "have respect for most other teachers in the school"
Parent Issues	Parents	"respect the teachers in this school" "assist and support their children's education at home"
Security	Neighborhood	"is safe for teachers and other school personnel" "has adequate police or security"
	Teachers	"do not feel they are in physical danger from students" "believe their jobs are secure" "feel supported by the administration"

Rationale for Instrument Design

The content of items and description of the Working Conditions derive from the field data gathered. A decision was made to ask respondents about role groups in describing their school rather than categories of stressors (i.e., Budget Cuts), and there were basically two reasons for this. First, there was the intention to mask, to some extent, the intent to identify stressors in Part 1; the intent is rather to have respondents describe their school. If, for example, the categories of Budget Cuts or Governance/ Leadership were listed as descriptors for Working Conditions in schools (followed by questions about each), the respondents might be less descriptive of issues. Second, the decision to use roles was also based upon the desire to utilize language that was used by teachers themselves in the construction of items for the instrument. This was also facilitated by using role groups to describe conditions rather than issues.

The intent of Part 1 is to gather the kinds of information that field researchers would gather, thus providing a more cost effective method of data collection. In Part 2, the decision to include positive stressors derived from recent literature in which this is suggested and in some cases tried in actual studies. Results of the present study have also shown the same condition to be negatively stressful in one school and neutral or inspiring in another. There is, consequently, a need to formally distinguish between those conditions that are positive or negative in their effect on performance of school personnel.

The logic of the 11-point rating scale, which asks teachers about staying in or leaving teaching stems from findings in current stress and burnout literature. In the studies cited in the accompanying literature review, there are few common definitions of stress and fewer paper and pencil instruments that seek to elicit a "like-response" from the respondents. In other words, respondents usually are not provided with a definition of stress to use when responding. Further, what frequently does appear in interview studies are expressions by respondents of a desire to leave or stay in teaching (or other professions) as a result of stress. The 11-point rating scale attempts to provide a common response mechanism for respondents. It defines the degree of stress in terms of behaviors that all respondents can understand and relate to, i.e., leaving or staying in teaching.

The space for comments and other written information requested is intended to help explain the numerical responses and, as stated earlier, add information that may not be obtained through the ratings.

A comparison of the stress values assigned to conditions (Part 2) with the descriptions of the conditions themselves (Part 1) should provide reasons for the assigned stress ratings. For example, the principal may be rated as a highly negative stressor in a school by teachers (Part 2). Teachers may perceive him to be unfair, insensitive to teachers' needs, unsupportive and a poor leader (Part 1). If one seeks to eliminate or decrease stress in the school environment, such information provides a data base to start with. Further analysis of the rank order, degree of agreement and dispersal of the items (Principal) should facilitate a more comprehensive determination of why teachers perceive the principal as stressful.

In addition to a rank order of items within each condition, a score can be obtained for each of the eleven conditions also, based upon the scores (1-5) assigned to each item. All items are stated in positive terms, that is, a high numerical rating would generally be desirable or favorable. (The desirability was indicated from the field data collected in the six schools.) The sum or average for each condition, therefore, provides a relative measure of the favorability of the 11 conditions. These summary scores, then, can be compared with the stress ratings assigned to the conditions, again to obtain a more comprehensive picture of stressors in a school or group of schools.

Preliminary Field Test

The first draft of the WCAI was developed and distributed to project staff for comments and suggestions for change. It was revised and submitted to the Project Advisory Board for further suggestions. These suggestions were incorporated prior to distributing the instrument in its revised form to teachers in the six participating schools. In the Fall of 1981, the WCAI was distributed to all participating teachers.

One reason for this exercise, preliminary to any larger field test, was to trouble-shoot the instrument in terms of acceptable format, clear instructions and language, and suggestions for change. Another reason was to ascertain whether the information supplied by these teachers about their school indeed coincided with the information gathered by the field researchers. High coincidence would add credibility to the instrument in terms of its performance or adequacy as a substitute for on-site observers.

The response rate from participants was disappointingly low. From one urban center, four, twelve and fifteen instruments were received from the elementary, junior and senior high school respectively. Three responses were obtained from the other urban center. Certain situational factors had a limiting effect on the response rate from participants. Participants had already contributed a considerable amount of time to filling out forms, submitting to interviews and the like during the previous year. For all intents and purposes, participants perceived that their major commitment to the project had been fulfilled with the data gathered during the third site visit. As an incentive, the project did pay persons who completed the instrument $5.00 as a token of appreciation. This provided minimal incentive since, admittedly, the instrument in its distributed form took a minimum of one-half hour to complete. Even with these obstacles, it was anticipated that a reasonable percentage from each school (25%) would be obtained so that data could be summarized and interpreted.

Due to the low response, only the results from one urban center are discussed and caution is advised in placing too much confidence in the validity of the descriptions of these schools, since the sample is small.

Of the thirty-one persons completing the instrument, few indicated problems with understanding or responding to the instrument. Twenty-seven indicated instructions were clear and understandable. Twenty-four of 31 indicated that it gave ample opportunity for description and identification of stressors.

In terms of improvements, nearly all suggestions were accounted for with minor revisions. The time period for assessing stress will be indicated in a cover letter. Items accounting for racial divisiveness are included in the instrument.

The number of descriptive items per condition in Part 1 was reduced by nearly one-half in order to make the instrument considerably less time-consuming. This was accomplished through deletion of repetitive items and elimination of some items that were too detailed.

Those aspects that were cited as stressful, but were not addressed in the instrument, represented for the most part unique individual concerns. To allow and encourage the sharing of these individual feelings, instructions were changed somewhat to indicate that all stressors cannot feasibly be asked about, and persons should write about these aspects in the space provided for comments. In addition, one item was added for the Material Resources condition to assess the difficulty in ordering supplies or equipment. This was a possible omission since there was evidence in the field data supporting this difficulty.

Further changes in the instrument were made to alleviate instances where respondents either misread or misinterpreted the instructions. In Part 1, this rarely occurred. In Part 2, however, approximately 40% of the respondents incorrectly rank ordered the working conditions after they had divided them into positive and negative stressors. This process was originally required as a method of cross-checking the stress ratings given, using the 11-point scale. A simpler alternative process was substituted in which respondents are asked to separate the 11 conditions into three categories: positive, neutral and negative, with no rank ordering required.

Performance of the WCAI

The question concerning how the instrument performed was addressed by scoring the instruments submitted for each school and comparing the information to the case studies. Judgements concerning the similarity of these results to case study descriptions are somewhat subjective in that few formal statistical mechanisms were employed. Because of the low number of respondents, formal mechanisms were not really feasible. Instead, the project staff were asked to compare results to the case studies and give their opinion as to similarities and discrepancies. Few discrepancies were noted. To aid the process of comparison, the field researchers were asked to rank order the 11 conditions, as would a respondent, and this was compared to the average rank order obtained from respondents' ratings for each of the three schools.

Considering the drawbacks of the sample and the limitations discussed, the instrument performed well in providing accurate data for descriptions of the three schools in one urban center and in assigning relative stress values to the 11 conditions. Included on page 71 are samples of data that demonstrate the latter conclusions.

Limitations of the Analysis

As originally envisioned, the WCAI and TESI were to measure similar indicators of stressors in teaching, but measure them in different ways. Once developed, the WCAI, along with the TESI, was to be administered to a representative sample of teachers in the six schools. A variety of statistical procedures were proposed for comparing the data from the six schools gathered by both instruments. Various emergent and intervening factors beyond the aforementioned low response rate have made these analyses inappropriate at this time.

First, while the original draft of the WCAI had undergone considerable review and assessment by project staff, it needed review by a wider audience before data obtained from the instrument could be used for the comparisons proposed. In the form in which it was distributed to teachers, for example, those responding often remarked that it was too long. Other comments and suggested changes resulted in minor but important changes in the WCAI.

Second, the case study analyses identified areas of stress that the TESI addressed only briefly or did not address at all. As a result, the WCAI assessed a number of areas not probed by the TESI. If they are to be used together, an expansion of the events assessed by the TESI is needed. While such a revision was anticipated earlier in the project, the magnitude of change required could only be approximated initially. The scope of change needed was underestimated, and the content of the needed changes could be identified accurately only after the final data analysis.

Third, research utilizing the TESI since the project was proposed, pointed out some difficulties in obtaining high reliability scores for the TESI based upon a test-retest procedure. The TESI is highly influenced by contextual factors -- critical events at the time of administration. This problem has yet to be overcome and solutions to it will bear upon its use with the WCAI. The problem of planning and implementing procedures for determining validity and reliability are, thus, more complicated than originally anticipated. This placed even greater importance on the refinement of the WCAI prior to the field test.

In summary, the purposes and basic tasks as proposed for the WCAI were adhered to and carried out. The statistical procedures for treating data gathered from both the WCAI and TESI in the six schools were, subsequent to the proposal, judged to be inappropriate. Such procedures are appropriate as part of a full field test.

Further Steps for Field Testing

At this juncture in the instrument development, a full scale field test is needed in which the questions asked of the respondents in the six schools are asked of a wider audience. In addition, the TESI should be included in the testing effort. With a sufficiently larger sample of respondents, statistical measures could be employed to determine further which items do not yield useful information. Also, one will be able to get

a better sense of what may not have been included from the comments provided by a more diverse group of teachers. The instrument would be revised based upon these results, and a manual prepared describing the procedures for use, scoring, and analyses of results.

The topics of validity and reliability have been discussed but are topics that need careful consideration. Problems have always abounded with the TESI concerning reliability since, as has been discussed previously, the instrument is subject to contextual factors, key events occurring near the time of administration of the TESI, that skew the results through their influence on perceptions. The WCAI should suffer less from this particular problem, since it does not specifically refer to events. The extent to which this will be a problem has yet to be determined, however. As part of the field test, a reliability measure or measures should be investigated, perhaps searching for more non-traditional techniques that could be appropriately applied. Validity checks should pose less of a problem in this regard, but also should be given careful scrutiny concerning the best approach to employ.

A specific plan for field testing needs to be developed but is beyond the purview of this study. Before publication or widespread use of the WCAI, field testing is certainly recommended.

Uses of the WCAI

The original intention for utilization of the WCAI was as a Teacher Stress survey instrument to be widely distributed along with the TESI across a wide range of types and sizes of schools. In their present revised form, the WCAI and TESI are judged to be applicable for these purposes with the caveat that together they present a response package that is more time consuming than other surveys of this kind. Such characteristics must be considered when broad surveys are conducted along with provision for built-in procedures for obtaining the desired response rate, audiences, range of school type, etc. These are not insurmountable obstacles, but obstacles which a good field test should address.

Something that could prove quite useful to future uses of the WCAI would be a large scale distribution for the purpose of norming responses. By obtaining an "average" response, all alternative uses would benefit through comparisons that could be made. Suggested below are some alternate uses of the instrument that could better satisfy local or regional concerns for assessing teacher stress and may increase the scope and utility of the instrument.

First, the instrument seems highly applicable to the assessment of one school or a small group of schools. The ethnographic approach suffers from the expense in time and staff that are required. The utilization of this instrument, along with a modified or limited ethnographic approach, could be quite informative as well as inexpensive. For example, a district could choose to determine the stressful factors facing teachers in their schools and employ university staff knowledgeable in ethnography and stress to assist in administering the instrument, analyzing its results, and presenting results

as input for further staff development activities. This approach could be modified to include key informant interviews, observations and document analysis on a limited basis to verify survey information depending upon availability of resources for the effort.

Another modified use of the WCAI, also applied to a local school or small number of schools, involves having all role groups (or some limited number of role groups) in the school respond to the instrument. Teacher stress, as has been reported, is often related to the actions and perceptions of non-teaching personnel, as well as parents and other non-school related persons or events. The principal is key in his or her potential influence on the stressors in the environment. A not too surprising finding of the study, and thus not emphasized to any large degree, has to do with the problems (stresses) resulting from unclear or different expectations for teaching and student performance by different role groups in the school. Most notable are the problems caused when the principal and teachers do not agree on the role of the teacher (job responsibilities) or when values are widely discrepant between teachers and principal. The use of the WCAI with all role groups will point out major differences among role groups in terms of their expectations and assessments of each other. Such information could be quite useful in developing plans to alleviate stress, improving school climate, or developing useful staff development topics.

A variation of this approach would be to have particular groups respond to the instrument (i.e., teachers, students, parents, administrators) with the intention of dealing with particular known problems. In each of the above cases, some outside assistance and monitoring of the use of the WCAI would be recommended, and of course, the scoring and analysis procedures would need to be known and employed correctly.

There are undoubtedly other potential useful methods of employing the WCAI and TESI in determining teacher stress. These potential uses are pointed out prior to full field testing so as to increase the potential scope of use resulting from the field test. Looking towards the time when the instrument will be fully tested and a manual prepared for its use, these alternative uses may increase utility of the instrument, if considered at this time.

Working Conditions Assessment Inventory (WCAI)

Instructions (Part 1)

The following instrument is intended to obtain a description of the working conditions in and around your school. Eleven areas are assessed: the Principal, Assistant Principal, Teachers, Students, Parents, Clerical Staff, Custodial Staff, the Board of Education (Central Office), the Physical Condition of Your School, the Surrounding Neighborhood and the Material Resources of the school.

Please respond to all items by placing a 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 in the spaces next to each item:

5	4	3	2	1
Very Descriptive of Conditions in My School				Not at all Descriptive of Conditions in My School

Next to each item there are 2 spaces, one marked "Individual" and one marked "Group." The "Individual" column refers to how you feel as an individual. The column marked "Group" refers to how you believe the teachers in your school feel. If an item absolutely does not apply to your school, leave blank or write in "NA."

There is space provided at the bottom of each major area for written comments. Please add information that will more clearly describe the area being assessed.

The Principal of this School:

Group	Individual	
____	____	has an effective leadership style.
____	____	demonstrates qualities of good leadership.
____	____	acts as a "buffer" between school personnel and the Board of Education (Central Office), translates Central Office communications and represents staff concerns to the Central Office.
____	____	is an instructional leader in the school.
____	____	is fair and consistent in carrying out tasks and responsibilities.
____	____	is sensitive to teachers' needs.
____	____	is respected by teachers and other school personnel.
____	____	communicates well with school personnel and parents.
____	____	is supportive of school teachers.
____	____	involves teachers in instructional decisions.
____	____	evaluates teachers equitably and fairly.
____	____	sets a good example for professional and personal behavior.
____	____	makes fair decisions; is a good decision-maker.

Comments:

The Assistant Principal(s) of this School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	is skilled in handling discipline matters.
_____	_____	demonstrates qualities of good leadership.
_____	_____	deals effectively with parent complaints.
_____	_____	communicates well with teachers.
_____	_____	treats teachers equitably and fairly.
_____	_____	is an effective liaison between the principal and teachers.
_____	_____	collaborates well with the principal.
_____	_____	is an instructional leader in the school.
_____	_____	takes charge in the principal's absence.
_____	_____	is consistent in carrying out tasks and responsibilities.

Comments:

Teachers in this School:

Group	Individual	
____	____	have a high sense of professionalism.
____	____	have had adequate pre-service training and are confident of their teaching ability.
____	____	feel respected by parents and community.
____	____	are highly motivated to teach.
____	____	have little or no racial divisiveness.
____	____	socialize with other teachers outside the school.
____	____	participate in and sponsor extracurricular activities.
____	____	have respect for most other teachers in the school.
____	____	feel they are evaluated fairly.
____	____	do not feel they are in physical danger from students.
____	____	believe their jobs are secure.
____	____	take extra courses for promotion.
____	____	attend school social functions.
____	____	welcome parental support and involvement.
____	____	feel supported by the administration.
____	____	feel successful in teaching and feel students can learn.
____	____	do not have overcrowded classrooms.
____	____	believe their students are generally well disciplined.
____	____	have good communications with parents.
____	____	feel supported by the union.
____	____	feel supported by the Board of Education (Central Office).

Comments:

The Students in this School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	see each other socially outside of school.
_____	_____	rarely pose any threat to teachers' security.
_____	_____	are for the most part average or above average in ability.
_____	_____	have very few racial conflicts among themselves.
_____	_____	even when angry, rarely verbally abuse teachers.
_____	_____	are motivated to learn and hardworking.
_____	_____	are involved in extracurricular activities and are proud of their school.
_____	_____	are well behaved and respectful of teachers.
_____	_____	want to learn and respect learning.
_____	_____	are adequately prepared in the basic skills.
_____	_____	have healthy self-esteem and respect their classmates.

Comments:

Parents of Students in this School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	hold similar values to the teachers.
_____	_____	respect the teachers in this school.
_____	_____	respect the principal.
_____	_____	have considerable influence over school affairs.
_____	_____	provide valuable service to the school.
_____	_____	assist and support their children's education in the home.
_____	_____	place a high priority on and are concerned with their children's education.
_____	_____	are involved and active in school affairs.
_____	_____	are proud of the school.
_____	_____	feel their children are safe in the school.

Comments:

The Clerical Staff in this School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	are qualified and perform their jobs effectively and efficiently.
_____	_____	are committed to the well being of the school.
_____	_____	are treated with respect by the faculty.
_____	_____	are a crucial component of the school.
_____	_____	have considerable influence over school matters.
_____	_____	are very helpful to teachers.
_____	_____	are in adequate numbers to carry out needed clerical tasks of the school.

Comments:

The Custodial Staff in this School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	are friendly and helpful to teachers.
_____	_____	maintain the school well (ample washroom supplies, clean halls and classrooms, etc.).
_____	_____	have adequate resources to do their jobs well.
_____	_____	are treated fairly by other school personnel.
_____	_____	respond adequately to directives from the principal.
_____	_____	treat school personnel equitably in the services they provide.
_____	_____	are well thought of throughout the school.
_____	_____	respond quickly and effectively to requests for service.

Comments:

The Board of Education (Central Office Administration):

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	fairly administers or oversees job placements of teachers.
_____	_____	is responsive to the needs of teachers at the building level.
_____	_____	administers fairly the school policies and programs.
_____	_____	makes reasonable demands on teachers.
_____	_____	makes responsible fiscal decisions and/or recommendations.
_____	_____	is comprised of competent administrators.
_____	_____	is consistent in implementation of Board policies.
_____	_____	utilizes input from the field (principals, teachers, district personnel, community).
_____	_____	respects the professional competence of the teachers and administrators.
_____	_____	gives teachers "a good press."

Comments:

As a Physical Structure, this School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	is safe for school personnel and students.
_____	_____	has adequate classroom facilities.
_____	_____	has sufficient space outside the classroom for teachers to gather or work.
_____	_____	is in good physical condition.
_____	_____	is clean and pleasant.
_____	_____	has adequate security from outside intruders.
_____	_____	has adequate parking space for faculty.
_____	_____	has adequate heat throughout the year.
_____	_____	has sufficient playground space.
_____	_____	has adequately maintained lavatory facilities for students and teachers.
_____	_____	has adequate cafeteria facilities for students and teachers.

Comments:

The Neighborhood Directly Surrounding the School:

Group	Individual	
_____	_____	is safe for teachers and other school personnel.
_____	_____	is pleasant and well maintained.
_____	_____	is safe for students.
_____	_____	is usually free of unsavory persons "hanging around."
_____	_____	has adequate police or security.
_____	_____	reflects the racial make-up of the student body.
_____	_____	is a low crime area.

Comments:

Material Resources in this School (equipment, teaching materials):

Group	Individual	
____	____	are in adequate supply.
____	____	can be ordered easily and efficiently.
____	____	are distributed to teachers equitably and fairly.
____	____	are supplied in part or whole by non-school personnel or agencies.
____	____	are contemporary and up-to-date.
____	____	are used frequently by teachers.
____	____	provide valuable aids to teaching.
____	____	are appropriate in terms of teachers' needs.

(School supplies, texts):

____	____	are in adequate supply.
____	____	are distributed equitably and fairly.
____	____	are available and used extensively by teachers.

Comments:

Instructions (Part II)

The following is intended to give you the opportunity to express the extent to which these eleven areas are sources of stress in your job.

A. First, please consider your school -- the total working environment -- and respond to the following general questions:

1. Do you consider your school to be a high stress school? Yes___ No___ Sometimes___

   Please explain:

2. Do you feel that many teachers at your school are suffering negative effects on their teaching due to stresses of the school environment?

   Yes___ No___

   What percent would you estimate are severely affected? _____%

3. What strategies do you employ to cope with dysfunctional stress associated with teaching?

B. Having considered the school on the whole, would you now please consider the eleven areas in terms of the extent to which they are sources of stress for you in carrying out your role as a teacher.

Eleven Areas

Principal	Clerical Staff
Assistant Principal(s)	Custodial Staff
Teachers	Board of Education
Students	Physical Condition of School
Parents	Neighborhood

Material Resources

First, divide the eleven areas into three groups: 1) those hindering teaching, that is, those areas contributing to negative or debilitating stress, 2) those areas that are neutral with respect to stress, and 3) those areas that inspire teaching, that is, those that contribute to a positive feeling about teaching; write them in the appropriate columns below:

Areas that Contribute to Negative Stress (Hinder)	Areas that are Neutral with Respect to Stress	Areas that Contribute to Positive Stress (Inspire)

Eleven Working Conditions:

Principal
Assistant Principal(s)
Teachers
Students
Parents
Clerical Staff
Custodial Staff
Board of Education
Physical Condition of Plant
Neighborhood
Material Resources

C. Now would you please assign a numerical rating to each of the eleven areas that indicates the amount of stress, positive or negative, that you would attribute to each of them. Please use the scale below to determine the amount of stress you assign to the eleven areas.

-5 This is so stressful, it continually makes me want to leave teaching altogether.

-4 This is stressful to the point of making me seriously consider leaving teaching altogether, but only intermittently or occasionally.

-3 This stresses me to the extent that I would strongly prefer to transfer from this school and teach somewhere else or take a leave of absence from teaching.

-2 This stresses me to the extent that I occasionally consider seeking a transfer or taking a leave.

-1 This may be stressful, but only rarely to the extent it would make me want to transfer, take a leave or quit teaching.

0 Neutral: This neither hinders nor inspires my teaching; it neither makes me want to leave teaching nor increases my commitment to remain in teaching.

+1 This inspires me to the extent that on rare occasions I reaffirm my commitment to remain in teaching as a worthy and rewarding profession.

+2 This inspires me to the extent that I occasionally reaffirm my commitment to remain in teaching as a worthy and rewarding profession.

+3 This inspires me to the extent that I reaffirm the intrinsic value and worth of teaching as a profession, and it makes me want to remain a part of the profession and remain at this school for the foreseeable future.

+4 This inspires me to the extent that I would resist with all resources available any career change or any attempt to transfer me from this school.

+5 This inspires me to the extent that I realize I want to remain in the teaching profession as my lifelong pursuit.

Eleven Areas

Rating		Rating	
_____	Principal	_____	Custodial Staff
_____	Assistant Principal(s)	_____	Board of Education
_____	Teachers	_____	Physical Condition of School
_____	Students	_____	Neighborhood
_____	Parents	_____	Material Resources
_____	Clerical Staff		

Comments:

D. Finally, please describe very briefly the five most stressful things (negatively stressful) about your job as a teacher this past year.

Additional Comments:

After taking the instrument, please answer the following questions.

Comments on the Instrument

1. Were the instructions clear and unde-standable?

   Yes _____ No _____

   If not, what was unclear or confusing?

2. Do you feel that by responding to this instrument you adequately described your school and expressed what caused you stress in your job?

   Yes _____ No _____

   If not, what was missing or what should have been asked?

3. Do you have any other suggestions for how this instrument could be improved?

Please mail your responses to the instrument and to these questions using the self-addressed stamped envelope provided.

Thank you very much.

Please complete this form and return to the Roosevelt University Research and Development Center in the provided envelope.

A TEACHING EVENTS STRESS INVENTORY _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ (1-5)

Introduction

Working in schools can sometimes be stressful. This questionnaire was designed to obtain information which may help determine to what extent professional educators perceive work related activities as stressful.

I. Background Information

Directions: Complete this section of the questionnaire by (a) placing an "X" in the appropriate space or (b) writing in the space providing the information requested. DO NOT place your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

1. (10) Male (1) ☐ Female (2) ☐

2. (11) Single (1) ☐ Married (2) ☐ Divorced (3) ☐ Widowed (4) ☐

3. (12) Age:
   (1) ☐ 30 or less
   (2) ☐ 31-40
   (3) ☐ 41-50
   (4) ☐ 51-65

4. (13) Race:
   (1) ☐ Asian
   (2) ☐ Black
   (3) ☐ Caucasian
   (4) ☐ Native American/ American Indian
   (5) ☐ Spanish surname
   (6) ☐ Other

5. (14) Type of school you currently work in:

   Elementary (1) ☐ Middle/Junior High School (2) ☐ High School (3) ☐

6. (15) Size of School: Less than 600 (1) ☐ 600-1000 (2) ☐ 1000+ ☐

7. (16) Does the school in which you work have an:
   Open Campus (1) ☐
   Closed Campus (2) ☐
   Not Applicable (3) ☐

8. Estimate the school's student body who are: (all the figures should total 100%)
   Asian..... ____ (17-19)
   Black..... ____ (20-22)
   Caucasian..... ____ (23-25)
   Native American.... ____ (26-28)
   Spanish surname.... ____ (29-31)
   Other..... ____ (32-34)
   TOTAL 100%

9. (35) What is the approximate population of your city, town, or rural community?

(1) ☐ City of 500,000 or more
(2) ☐ Suburb adjacent to a city
(3) ☐ City of 100,000 - 499,999
(4) ☐ City of 10,000 - 99,999
(5) ☐ Town or rural area

10. (36) Have you experienced any physical illness that you feel is related to stress in your work?

No (1) ☐ Yes (2) ☐ Comments: _____

_____

11. (37) Have you experienced any mental illness that you feel is related to stress in your work?

No (1) ☐ Yes (2) ☐ Comments: _____

_____

12. (38) How many years have you been a full-time teacher?

(1) ☐ 1-3
(2) ☐ 4-10
(3) ☐ 11-20
(4) ☐ 21 and over

13. How many days of school did you miss during the 1979-80 school year:

(39-40) a: as a result of physical illness? _____
(41-42) b: as a result of mental illness? _____

II. Inventory

Directions: Please rate the events shown below as to their relative degree of stress. In the left hand column, provide a rating from 0 to 100 which shows the extent to which the event is stressful to you.

The rating procedure to be followed is: Event 1, the first week of the school year, has been given the arbitrary value of 50. As you complete each of the remaining events, think to yourself, "Is this event indicative of more or less stress than the first week of school?" If you decide the stress is greater than that of the first week of school, then choose a proportionately larger number and place it in the blank directly opposite the event. If you decide the event represents less stress than the first week of school, then indicate how much less by placing a proportionately smaller number in the blank. If the event is equal in stress to the first week of the school year, record the number 50 opposite the event. Please provide a rating for every event regardless of whether or not you have directly experienced the event. If you feel you cannot respond to the event, please put "NA" (not applicable) in the space for the rating.

		Stressful to you	Events
1.	(43-46)	50	The first week of the school year
2.	(47-50)	____	Reorganization of classes or program
3.	(51-54)	____	Colleague assaulted in school
4.	(55-58)	____	Voluntarily transferred
5.	(59-62)	____	Attendance at in-service meetings
6.	(63-66)	____	Notification of unsatisfactory performance
7.	(67-70)	____	Overcrowded classroom
8.	(71-74)	____	Preparing for a strike
9.	(75-78)	____	Change in duties/work responsibilities
10.	(10-13)	____	Conference with principal/supervisor
11.	(14-17)	____	Involuntarily transferred
12.	(18-21)	____	Managing "disruptive" children
13.	(22-25)	____	Implementing Board of Education curriculum goals
14.	(26-29)	____	Developing and completing daily lesson plans
15.	(30-33)	____	Supervising student behavior outside the classroom
16.	(34-37)	____	Threatened with personal injury
17.	(38-41)	____	Dealing with community racial issues
18.	(42-45)	____	Maintaining self-control when angry
19.	(46-49)	____	Talking to parents about their child's problems
20.	(50-53)	____	Dealing with students whose primary language is not English
21.	(54-57)	____	Target of verbal abuse by student
22.	(58-61)	____	Evaluating student performance or giving grades
23.	(62-65)	____	Lack of availability of books and supplies
24.	(66-69)	____	Dealing with staff racial issues
25.	(70-73)	____	Teaching students who are "below average" in achievement level
26.	(74-77)	____	Lavatory facilities for teachers are not clean or comfortable
27.	(10-13)	____	Taking additional course work for promotion
28.	(14-17)	____	Teaching physically or mentally handicapped children
29.	(18-21)	____	Disagreement with supervisor
30.	(22-25)	____	Teacher-parent conferences
31.	(26-29)	____	Seeking principal's intervention in a discipline matter
32.	(30-33)	____	Maintaining student personnel and achievement records
33.	(34-37)	____	Having a research or training program from "outside" in the school

34. (38-41) _____ Denial of promotion or advancement

35. (42-45) _____ Dealing with student racial issues

36. (46-49) _____ Disagreement with another teacher

37. (50-53) _____ Obtaining needed clerical assistance

38. (54-57) _____ Interacting with clerks in the school

39. (58-61) _____ Making requests of custodial staff

40. (62-63) _____ Obtaining needed maintenance and repairs for the classroom

41. (64-67) _____ Complying with Board of Education policies

42. (68-71) _____ Contacting Board of Education personnel for information and/or assistance

43. (72-75) _____ Dealing with run down conditions of classroom and school facilities within the building

44. (10-13) _____ Dealing with inadequate facilities surrounding the school (parking, playground, athletic areas, etc.)

45. (14-17) _____ Entry and exit from school through a dangerous neighborhood

46. (18-21) _____ Dealing with outside intruders

47. (22-25) _____ Lack of supplies (duplicating paper, construction paper, etc.)

48. (26-29) _____ Inequitable distribution of supplies and materials

49. (30-33) _____ Obtaining up-to-date teaching materials (texts, equipment, etc.)

50. (34-37) _____ If there is an event which you feel should also be listed, write it in below and give it a numerical value.

_____ _____

_____ _____

51. On a scale of 1-5, please rate how stressful the first week of school is for you.

1 2 3 4 5

Low Stress High Stress

Summary of Responses for Three Schools in One Urban Area

Nearly all who responded to the instrument also filled out a comment sheet about the WCAI itself. Concerning the format of the instrument and its clarity and adequacy in providing opportunity for description, discussion is based upon individual schools and upon the 31 responses as a group from one urban center. For responses to the instrument itself, data were aggregated as defined in the accompanying scoring procedures and are discussed in general terms for Part 2 of the instrument. The extensive revisions in Part 1, mainly concerning the elimination of items and the combining of content, permitted only a subjective comparison of descriptive information obtained from Part 1 to the field data collected. The following presents the changes suggested by respondents and summary of stress ratings given for the three schools.

General Comments about the Instrument: Schools #4, #5 and #6

Of the four teachers responding from School #4, all indicated that the instructions were clear and understandable, that they could adequately describe the school and its stressful factors. One person felt that an item referring to "the difficulty in ordering supplies" should be added. Another expressed confusion as to whether to describe the school the previous year or presently at the time of the survey. One person also suggested using a three-point scale (always, sometimes, never) instead of the five.

In School #5, 10 of 12 persons completed the comment form. Of the 10 responses, all felt that the instructions were clear and understandable. Eight of the 10 responded that adequate opportunity was given by the instrument to describe the school and its stressors. The two remaining responded "no" and "sometimes." Both latter respondents commented about the instrument. One stated that the instrument was "devoid of emotionalism involved in the issues." The person responding "no" stated that some questions "could be divided along racial lines." "Many white teachers feel one way, while black teachers feel another." Both went on to suggest that some provision be made for assessing the stress caused by racial divisiveness among the faculty. One other comment was made: "The instrument is too long."

In School #6 eight of the 15 responded positively to the first two questions and gave no comments. Two of the 15 respondents stated "no" concerning clarity and understandability. One stated that he/she did not know the rest of the faculty and, thus, found it difficult to assess how the rest of the faculty felt. The other respondent cited paragraph 2 of the instructions as "unclear." Each of these respondents believed they could adequately describe their school and its stressors using the instrument. Each also had suggestions for improvements. One felt the questionnaire was too long, too detailed, needed an easier response scale and was too subjective. The other respondent cited some discontent with the "excess power" of the union, his recent resignation from the union, and the exclusion he experienced by other teachers as a result. The instrument, he/she felt, could not assess those sorts of stressors.

The remaining five respondents indicated that instructions were clear; of these, two indicated that they had adequate opportunity to describe the school and its stressors. The remaining three indicated "no" and had suggestions for improvement. Three persons mentioned simply that it be made shorter. Another felt that the Material Resource items did not address the difficulty experienced with ordering supplies. Another stated that the instrument attempts to measure an "abstract," something that is impossible to measure.

Field Test Results: Part 2 of WCAI

On the following page, a table displays the results of averaging responses for each of the three schools for stress ratings assigned the 11 working conditions. Displayed also is the rank ordering of one of the field researchers for each school in order to compare his impressions with those of the very limited teacher sample.

In School #4, considerable difference in rankings (34 or more ranks) between average respondent ratings and field researcher rankings are found for two of the 11 conditions: Students and Physical Conditions of the School. In School #5, four conditions show such differences: Teachers, Students, Parents and Physical Condition of the School. For School #6, four conditions also show considerable difference: Assistant Principal, Students, Parents and Custodial Staff.

It is interesting to note that differences about Students appear in all three schools. In general, across the three schools, even with the low number of responses, the respondents and the field researcher agreed quite closely on seven of the eleven conditions. In addition, good agreement was seen in all cases for the top three or four stressors in each school.

Scoring the WCAI

To score Part 1 of the instrument, the scorer will first determine the number of respondents and will identify the population(s) represented (within-school, school, many schools, districts, etc.). The means, standard deviations and rank order by mean scores will be determined for each item within each condition, keeping seaprate the individual and group tallies. For example, the working condition, "the Principal," has 11 items. The means of these items will be rank ordered -- most descriptive to least. One can then describe, either in tabular or narrative form, the Principal of a school from the perspective of the teachers in that school. This process is carried out for all of the 11 conditions.

For Part 2, the open-ended responses for questions 1A, 1B and 1C are content analyzed and tallied. In question 2, simple tallies are made of the number of conditions categorized as either positive, neutral or negative. The final question concerning the five most stressful aspects is also content analyzed to determine any additional aspects brought up that were not a part of the WCAI, as well as to quantify and verify conditions that are indeed shown to be the most stressful.

Field Test Results: Part 2 of the WCAI

On Part 2 of the WCAI, respondents rated the amount of stress attributed to the 11 working conditions. The columns below are averages of these scores for the respondents in three urban schools in one area accompanied by rank orders of scores. One field researcher's rank ordering of the conditions are included for comparison purposes (3rd column).

WORKING CONDITIONS	School #4 N=4			School #5 N=12			School #6 N=15		
	Mean Score	Rank	Rank	Mean Score	Rank	Rank	Mean Score	Rank	Rank
PRINCIPAL	-3.30	1	1	-1.33	3	2	+1.28	11	10
ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL	+ .50	11	11	- .76	6	7	- .43	5	8
TEACHERS	+ .75	10	10	-1.25	5	8	+ .07	7	7
STUDENTS	-1.50	4	7	0.00	10	6	+ .38	8	5
PARENTS	-1.50	3	6	- .17	8	4	+ .64	10	6
CLERICAL STAFF	+ .50	9	9	0.00	11	11	+ .39	9	11
CUSTODIAL STAFF	0.00	8	8	- .17	9	9	0.00	6	9
BOARD OF EDUCATION	-2.00	3	5	-2.42	1	3	-2.20	1	1
PHYSICAL CONDITION OF SCHOOL	- .25	7	3	-1.25	4	10	-1.30	3	3
NEIGHBORHOOD	-1.00	6	4	-1.92	2	1	-1.58	2	2
MATERIAL RESOURCES	-2.00	2	2	- .25	7	5	- .78	4	4

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS/ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
TEACHER STRESS STUDY

Selection Criteria for Six Schools Sample (AFT)

One elementary, one middle and one high school must be selected for study.

Commonalities

Schools of:

- Same size - students, faculty and plant
- Same community setting regarding SES, age, racial/ethnic composition, public facilities, community services
- Same age
- Tenure of principal
- Level of unionization
- Number and kind of special programs
- Background of faculty
- General condition of building and equipment
- Achievement levels of students
- Dropout and vandalism rates

Uniquenesses

Schools which differ on:

- Number of grievances filed by teachers
- Faculty sponsorship of extracurricular activities
- Faculty participation in school community events
- Requests for transfers
- Teacher assaults

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION INVENTORY (AFT)

1. Floor plan and pictures of building - History of the school, age, condition, capacity, facilities

2. Description of Community

   Boundaries and place in city
   SES and ethnic composition
   Character of neighborhood, business industry, social agencies, age, renewal, public housing, etc.

3. Characteristics of Adult Population

   Teachers
   Administration
   Paraprofessionals

4. Sociometric data is very useful and can be obtained by asking adults in the school building questions such as:

   a. Who is your best friend on the faculty?

   b. Who do you see most often during the day?

   c. With whom do you socialize after school?

   d. Who do you perceive to be the loners on the faculty?

   e. Who seems to be the most influential person on the faculty in addition to the administrator?

5. Student Characteristics Data

   Age, race, male/female, achievement scores, number handicapped, special programs, e.g., ESEA, Title III, gifted, reading, TESL, average daily attendance, retention rates, and so on (see form)

6. Curriculum Data

   Major instructional strategy, grouping patterns, student assignment, use of structured programs, e.g., IGI, SRA, Sullivan, Bank Street, departmental structure

7. Other Unique Feature

   Transfers - desegregation - bussing
   Teacher residency requirements
   Money spent per pupil
   Corporal punishment
   Level of unionism

8. An Overall Description of the School System

   Size, funding, organization, critical events in the last four to five years, nature of student and teaching forces
   Accomplishments
   Problems

The Follow-Up Stress Questionnaire

Narrative of Results

May, 1981

TO: All Faculty and Staff

FROM: Teacher Stress Study Staff

SUBJECT: Teacher Stress Study and Attached Teaching Events Stress Inventory

The staff of Roosevelt University and AFT would like to thank you for the time and assistance you gave to our field workers in collecting data on teacher stress. Results of the research will be available in the fall, and we hope to come back and present our findings to you.

Attached is a copy of the TESI which was distributed earlier during the school year. If you have already filled out a TESI, we thank you and ask that you answer the questions at the bottom of this page and return this letter in the attached pre-addressed envelope.

If you have not as yet filled out a TESI, please take a few minutes from your busy schedule and fill out the form, as well as answer the questions at the bottom of this page. Then return both the TESI and this letter in the attached pre-addressed envelope. These data are vital to our study on teacher stress, and only by having a large response rate can we insure validity of our conclusions.

Again, thank you for your patience and assistance.

Questions (Use other side if necessary.)

1. Do you consider your school a high stress school? Yes ___ No ___ Sometimes ___

   Explain:

2. What are the factors of the teaching profession that make it stressful or unstressful?

3. What aspect or aspects of teaching cause you the most stress?

4. What strategies do you use to cope with stress?

School #1
Follow-Up Questionnaire

All twenty-eight teachers were given the opportunity to respond to the Follow-Up Questionnaire. Four teachers in School #1 completed the form, for a response rate of 14%. In response to the question of whether or not they considered School #1 a high-stress school, three (75%) said yes and one (25%) said sometimes. The reasons given for these responses and answers to other questions about stress in the school were grouped into four relevant categories. Student issues were described as very stressful, including problems with discipline, student behavior, disruptive or disturbed kids, large classes and difficulties with handling mainstreamed children. Related to this, security was a major stressor -- problems from being in an inner-city, crime and a general lack of security. Responses also indicate that scarcity of resources was a major area of concern, including general lack of funds, scarcity of books, lack of time for tasks, little security and clerical help. Finally, issues which can be characterized as governance/leadershiip were mentioned, including problems stemming from top-down mandates, loose leadership, not enough support or rewards, and no clarity in what is considered to be good or bad.

These responses to the Follow-Up Questionnaire about stress indicate support for certain of the stressors derived from the case studies. Security, budget cuts and related actions, and governance/leadership are all supported by remarks in the questionnaire. The category of staff relations, which evolved as a major stressor in the case study, did not appear in these responses. The problems among staff members arose as a result of enrollment shortages which caused the input of new programs and staffs and is related to the area of budget cuts; yet, there was no discussion in the questionnaire of problems with faculty from non-regular programs. It is possible that the four responding teachers did not view the staff relations as very prominent.

The category of student issues appears in the questionnaire as a cause of stress but was not a major category identified in the case study. Again, this may reflect issues of concern specific to the small number of respondents. The difference, however, is notable.

Teachers were asked on the questionnaire about individual stress coping mechanisms. No pattern of responses developed; there was a diversity in responses, and no overly creative ideas were expressed. Teachers mentioned meditation, talking with friends, working during lunch and motivating the children as their forms of coping activity.

School #2
Follow-Up Questionnaire

The entire faculty of 39 were provided the opportunity to respond to the Follow-Up Questionnaire on stress. Eleven teachers responded, for a response rate of 28%. Of those responding, six (55%) indicated the school was high stress, two (18%) said the school was not high stress and three (27%) indicated that the school was sometimes high stress. The explanations about stress in School #2 were grouped into categories. Student issues were raised as a stressor category. Comments, such as problems with discipline, the attitude of pupils, violent students, dealing with young criminals, curriculum above students' heads, and little success in teaching, reflect this category. Budget cuts and lack of resources were indicated as stressful, especially with regard to time. Teachers said that there was no let-up, high pressure, too much to do, as well as mentioning other kinds of concerns such as no equipment, lack of supplies and poor condition of the building. Finally, the area of governance/leadership evolved from these data. Regarding the principal, there were mixed comments, such as lack of understanding between staff and administration, "divide and conquer," unreasonable demands, and abuse of students by the administration, as opposed to the principal being seen by some as a concerned problem-solver. All comments on higher administration were negative, with emphasis on the rules and regulations on student discipline -- inability to punish those who cause problems and questions on why criminal offenders are returned to class.

Problems with security, especially outside the school plant, were not expressed in the questionnaire. Though this was a major stressor category from the case study, the only security issues raised in the questionnaire concerned student behavior and student issues, an area the case study information did not support as a separate category. The area of budget cuts is supported by these questionnaire data, though a greater emphasis on time is expressed in these responses. The category of governance/leadership is also supported here, from the mixed reactions to the principal to the general dissatisfaction with the Board of Education. Finally, although in questionnaire responses teachers did not reflect concern over staff relations, the many responses about the principal and his "divide and conquer" techniques do underscore the problems between staff which evolve from relationships with the principal.

Once again, stress coping mechanisms were unstructured or unpatterned, reflected by suggestions such as: try not to lose control, don't get down on oneself, don't push too hard, talk with others, make school work less demanding for students. Thus, there are means utilized to release tension, means which are unsystematic and seemingly may or may not be successful.

School #3
Follow-Up Questionnaire

Every teacher in School #3 was provided a copy of the Follow-Up Questionnaire. Eighteen teachers in the school responded, for a response rate of 17%. Only five respondents (28%) replied positively to the question of this being a high stress school, with nine (50%) responding "sometimes" and four (22%) indicating that it was not a high stress school. In the questions provided for discussion of stress levels in the school, two major categories evolved, with less support for others. The category of student issues was supported consistently in the questionnaires, with teachers complaining about undisciplined, hostile, aggressive, violent, lazy students with bad attitudes, who don't care and are low-level achievers. Student racial problems were also cited. The other strongly supported category was governance/leadership. Concerning the Board of Education, teachers complained of excesses of paperwork, too many clerical tasks, out-of-class jobs and poor directives from above. Of the principal, many negative comments were given such as he is vindictive, hostile, punitive, unsupportive, ineffective, unreasonable, and pressures teachers to conform and handles student discipline poorly. There was also some mention in the questionnaire responses of problems associated with budget cuts -- overcrowded building, no job security and abundance of paperwork. In addition, several teachers talked about dislike for colleagues, in terms of indifference they perceive, passing of the buck, little assistance.

The three stressor categories from the case study all are supported in the questionnaire responses. Student issues and governance/leadership are strongly supported, while budget cuts receive some corroboration. The teachers' coping strategies were again quite diverse and in total do not shed much light on means for coping with stress. Teachers discussed planning ahead, deviating from lesson plans, prayer, relaxation, complaining, relating to kids, not caring about kids, calling parents, yelling and long European vacations.

School #4
Follow-Up Questionnaire

The Follow-Up Questionnaire was administered to 18 teachers in the elementary school. Of the 18 teachers who received the questionnaire, two completed and returned it for a response rate of 11%. In response to question 1 (Do you consider your school a high stress school?), one teacher responded yes, and one teacher responded no. Because of the small response rate, a rigorous analysis would be inappropriate. However, there were three things that both teachers cited as stressful in this school. These two teachers felt that there was no administrative support; there was no parent support; and the observation techniques used by the principal were debilitating.

The coping strategies used by these teachers were exercising, seeking self-help groups, and when all else fails -- crying.

School #5
Follow-Up Questionnaire

The Follow-Up Questionnaire was administered to 34 teachers in the junior high school. Of the 34 teachers who received the questionnaire, 13 completed and returned it for a response rate of 38%. In response to question 1 (Do you consider your school a high stress school?), seven teachers responded yes (54%), three teachers responded no (23%), and three teachers responded sometimes (23%).

Respondents' explanations about stressors in School #5 were grouped into six categories. Staff issues were cited by teachers as a major concern. Teachers' comments that reflected this concern were: "Inability of staff to act as a cohesive group;" "Other teachers not doing their jobs;" "Teachers who are allowed to do their own thing and disregard the fact that they are supposed to earn their pay check;" "Incompetent teachers;" "Racial tensions among the staff." Although not identified in the case study as a stressor, student issues were viewed by those teachers who responded to the questionnaire as a stressor. "Trying to motivate or change children's attitudes and behavior toward learning" and "having to try to teach students who do not belong in a regular classroom" were most often the kinds of concerns cited by teachers as being stressful. Problems with security were also expressed by teachers in the questionnaire: "Unsafe working conditions;" "Constant threat of physical violence;" "Threats by students and parents;" "Threat to one's automobile."

Budget and related issues also received wide support from teachers. Teachers responded that "Scarcity of materials" ("I'm using science books that are ten years old."); "Lack of supplies;" "Instability of the Board of Education concerning job guarantees;" and "Threats of the Board taking benefits away when looking for a cost of living raise" contributed to making their jobs stressful.

In the case study, teachers also were concerned with governance/leadership issues, primarily related to the school principal. This concern also received support from the teachers who responded to the questionnaire. Teachers in School #5 were concerned with the fact that "the faculty has no decision-making power;" "the administration is impotent and insensitive;" and "the administration is powerless." Finally, although there was little concern about parent issues in the case study, teachers did express some concern about parent issues in the questionnaire. "Lack of parental support" and "Uncooperative parents" were the two primary sources of discontent with parents.

In response to coping strategies, some teachers cited unhealthy and potentially damaging strategies (e.g., alcohol). However, the majority of teachers responded with more helpful suggestions (e.g., physical exercise and maintaining a proper diet).

School #6
Follow-Up Questionnaire

The Follow-Up Questionnaire was administered to 120 teachers in the high school. Of the 120 teachers who received the questionnaire, 31 completed and returned it for a response rate of 26%. In response to question 1 (Do you consider your school a high stress school?), 25 teachers responded yes (81%), 4 teachers responded no (13%), and 2 teachers responded sometimes (6%).

Respondents' explanations about stress in School #6 were grouped into categories, and a major concern of teachers was student issues. Teachers' comments that reflected this concern were: teaching students who expect to pass from one grade to another without mastering material; student apathy; average 5th grade readers in a teenage body that is using drugs and identifying with gangs; and a large number of students who do not want an education and keep the classroom in turmoil. Problems with security were also noted in the questionnaire. Teachers stated that "being injured and verbally maligned;" "teaching in a high crime area;" and the high decibel level created by poor security were all security related stressors.

The area of governance/leadership was also cited by teachers as a concern in the questionnaire: "Constant threat of firings;" and "families who dump their children in the nearest school" all contribute to making this school stressful.

In the case study, staff relations were primarily related to a racial division witnessed in teacher patterns of interaction. However, in the questionnaire, concerns over staff issues were primarily related to tenured teachers who were not doing their jobs and poorly trained newer teachers who were unable to handle discipline problems.

There was no pattern to teacher response for coping strategies. Some suggested coping strategies appeared to be helpful and constructive (e.g., ventilate to sympathetic and understanding faculty and staff; exercise daily and find time for a hobby; participate in yoga and visit a psychiatrist). Other coping strategies, however, appeared to be less than helpful and at times dangerous (e.g., take lots of days off from work, take drugs).

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241

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